NEW CHAPTERS IN GREEK HISTORY

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NEW CHAPTERS

IN

GREEK HISTORY.

HISTORICAL RESULTS OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE AND ASIA MINOR.

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BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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To

SIR CHARLES THOMAS NEWTON, K.C.B.,

PROFESSOR REGINALD STUART POOLE,

DR. BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD,

AND

MY OTHER COLLEAGUES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

1871-1887,

I gratefully Dedicate these Papers,

IN GREAT PART WRITTEN WHILE I ENJOYED THE INESTIMABLE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR SOCIETY AND DAILY COUNSEL.

PREFACE.

THE object of the present work is to try to call more general attention to the results of recent excavation in Greek lands. This object I have tried to express in the title chosen: it will of course be understood that the *New Chapters* are not the chapters of this book, but the chapters which have been opened to us at Mycenae, at Olympia, and in the other scenes of recent researches. The interest of these researches is many-sided: some people will be attracted by their mythologic, some by their artistic results, some by their bearing on ancient life and manners, and so forth. On their artistic aspects I have scarcely touched, this book being not primarily concerned with art. My endeavour has been to set forth briefly, and, if possible, in a way tending to interest all Phil-hellenes, the gains which the excavations of the last twenty years have brought us in regard to our knowledge of Greek history, using the word history in the widest sense, as covering not only political events, but all sides of the activity of a nation.

About half of the matter in this work has been printed before. The greater part of Chapters IV., VI., VII., VIII., IX., XV. has appeared in the *Quarterly Review*,

most of Chapter X. in the *Contemporary Review*, most of Chapter XI. in the *Fortnightly Review*, and parts of Chapters I., V. in *Macmillan's Magazine*. Chapters I., II., III., XII., XIII., XIV. are mainly or entirely unpublished, and V. and VI. are in great part new. I have to thank the proprietors of the *Contemporary* and *Fortnightly Reviews* and of *Macmillan's Magazine* for permission freely to use this old material. I have carefully revised it, in some cases almost re-writing, and in all cases endeavouring to bring my work up to the level of recent knowledge. One chapter only, that on the *Successors of Alexander*, I have not attempted to revise. It is evident that so slight a sketch of so vast a subject could not be seriously corrected. The claim of this paper to appear in the present book rests on the fact that it embodies the results of considerable numismatic research.

As a rule the inscriptions found at the sites dealt with in these chapters have not been discussed, as such discussion would have been too technical, and dealt only with detached points. Besides, to deal only with the subject-matter of the inscriptions discovered on the one site of Olympia would take a volume. Inscriptions do, however, furnish the main theme of two Chapters, XII. and XIV.

The Chapters are quite independent, excepting II. to V., in which is attempted the very difficult task of giving a slight account of the recent discoveries of the remains of pre-historic Greece. In a subject so rapidly moving and so full of false lights, it is dangerous to commit oneself to any views ; and it is almost certain that future discovery will modify any views set forth. under the

existing circumstances. But I felt it incumbent on me not to avoid the responsibility of publishing such opinions as many years' study of the subject have suggested to me.

The few illustrations used are all taken from authoritative works, and intended only to make the text more intelligible. I have to express my indebtedness to the authors and proprietors of them.

These Chapters were usually written as a relief in the intervals of lecturing, cataloguing and other more absorbing employments. They are not, I need scarcely say, intended to be exhaustive. Within limits so narrow nothing more could be attempted than to give a rough outline. I have written not for archaeologists, but for the ordinary educated reader, for those who are acquainted with the literature or the history or the art of Greece, and who wish to fill up lacunae, or to learn in what directions the spade is increasing our acquaintance with ancient Hellas. Certain inconsistencies, as the use sometimes of *I* and sometimes of the more formal *we*, or differences in style and scale, result from the variety of the occasions on which various parts of the work were written. Also in some of the papers earliest written, especially Chapter X., are passages which I should not now write: but these, unless actually incorrect, I have not usually altered.

Of the sites *not* here treated of, some are dealt with in more or less detail in recent papers by other writers. As to Delos the reader is referred to Professor Jebb's paper in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies;* Ephesus and the Cimmerian Bosphorus are spoken of in Sir Charles Newton's *Essays;* Icaria and Paphos in Mr. Louis Dyer's *Gods in Greece.* But the

English literature on this subject is anything but extensive.

My principal obligations are expressed in the dedication. In addition, I am indebted to several friends, in Oxford and elsewhere, for reading the proofs of various chapters and helping me with suggestions and corrections, in particular to Mr. W. W. Fowler, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, and Miss Alice Gardner.

PERCY GARDNER.

OXFORD, 1*st March*, 1892.

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NEW CHAPTERS IN GREEK HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE VERIFICATION OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

THERE is a notable distinction between the records of ancient and the records of modern history. All that we possess of records of ancient history, that is, of the ages before the great barbarian invasions, reaches us as wreckage, as a small remnant which has survived the flood of ages of ignorance and has floated down to us. The records of modern history, on the other hand, are mostly on our side of the flood. From this one fact arise great differences in method between the investigation of the history of Egypt or Assyria, Greece or Rome, and the investigation of modern history, some of which will be mentioned below. But the most important difference lies in the far greater necessity for verification in the case of ancient history, wherever verification is possible.

The great difficulty of writers on modern history is in co-ordinating the vast masses of material before them, comparing statement with statement and writer with writer, and deciding which version of a story has the better authority. Writing and printing have for several centuries past been so usual that almost everything important which has happened has been somewhere or other recorded. It is the quantity rather than the scarcity of information which makes our great difficulty in dealing with modern, and particularly with very modern times.

The opposite holds of ancient history. There the great

trouble is not only the conflict of authorities, but even more their paucity. If anyone wanders away from the main stream of ancient history he will be astonished to find how little is recorded. We scarcely know the outlines of the history of the Phœnicians, the Etruscans, or even the Parthians. We learn little about the cities founded by the Greeks in South Italy, and of their sudden and wonderful bloom; and even if we follow the main stream of history we continually find that we have but a single narrative of an event, and that single narrative on the face of it very improbable if not impossible, or obviously prejudiced, or inconsistent with itself.

Nor have we only the paucity of ancient authorities to complain of, but also their unsatisfactory character. A considerable part of our account of ancient history rests on the word of such writers as Diodorus and Justin, who follow authorities no longer extant, and whose judgment is worth next to nothing. When Diodorus contradicts Thucydides we lightly set him aside, but when he contradicts no one, because no one else mentions the particular event of which he is speaking, then, in the absence of any direct counter-evidence, we are disposed to accept his statements. Perhaps we cannot help doing so; but if the woof of ancient history contains such patchings how can it hold together? Even to the best and most trustworthy of ancient writers, with one or two possible exceptions, feelings such as are now usual as to the sacredness of fact were absolutely foreign: there is a scientific realism about the modern mind which is a recent growth, and of which the ancients generally had no more notion than they had of gunpowder or of printing. And at all events from the time of Thucydides onwards, we must make allowance in all ancient histories for the strong influence of rhetorical and sophistic tendencies, which grew stronger and stronger.

Hence to many students the pursuit of ancient history is a gradual education in scepticism. They begin by despising Diodorus, and go on to doubting Herodotus, until they proceed to have very grave doubts about many things in Thucydides. And if there comes a reaction, it is only the reaction which is the natural fruit of that extreme scepticism which is always conservative. Men do not learn to believe in the ancient writers more, but they begin more and more to doubt whether certainty is attainable in ancient history at all. Abandoning all hope of reaching actual fact, they become content to learn what was believed by this or that party, this or that historian. They take the statements of ancient writers with a grain of salt; but they do not attempt a really searching criticism of those statements, because they regard such criticism as an attempt to measure distances with an elastic thread or to rule lines with a rod of pith.

The spirit of criticism and the spirit of scepticism are the same. And as we cannot in these days cease to be critical, it is likely that we shall tend more and more to scepticism as regards ancient history. But the best, perhaps the only, remedy for scepticism lies in the possibility of to some extent verifying ancient history. This verification consists, in history as in physical science, in bringing views before they are finally accepted to the test of actually-existing fact. There are of course limits to the availability of such facts in the case of ancient history, yet the test can sometimes be applied, more often than most students of ancient history are disposed to believe.

I do not propose now to discuss all the tests which may be brought to bear upon the statements of the ancient historians. For example, the languages of the ancient world, though sometimes dead, are at least very well-preserved corpses, and their dissection is a scientific process whence may accrue much gain to history. No

doubt comparative philology furnishes us in many cases with a test whereby we may directly learn the truth in such matters as the geographical distribution of races, their relations one to the other, and their economic and social conditions at various periods of history. But comparative philology is so far outside the circle of my knowledge that I cannot venture to speak further of it.

Perhaps more important from the historical point of view is the very modern science of ethnography, which deals with the beginnings of civilisation, traces to a common origin customs prevailing in various lands, and shows how in many countries the same primary forces of human desire and intelligence produced results of a parallel character. Comparative mythology and folklore come under this head. Of course this test is of little value when we come to speak of civilised societies. But in regard to the earliest history of Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, the religious customs and social habits of those nations, the ethnographic test may be applied with advantage.

I propose, however, to confine myself to the mention of four classes of facts with which our narratives of ancient history may be brought into contact:—(1) geographic fact, (2) inscriptions, (3) works of art, and (4) coins.

These classes of facts we must briefly consider in turn. But first I wish to insist on a distinction of some importance to the enquiry before us.

We must distinguish between objective history and subjective history, between what has really taken place in the world, and what is supposed to have taken place. Objective history is the succession of events as they would appear if investigated on the spot by a committee of men of thorough scientific training and free from prepossessions.

We know how the phonograph repeats as often as is

desired words spoken into it, in the very tones in which they were spoken. If all the past history of the world were registered in a sort of infinite phonograph, and a committee of savants had the power of rehearsing again and again any event of the past which interested them, with all the accompanying sights and sounds, then in time we might form an actual or objective history of the world, not indeed absolutely free from subjective colouring, since our savants would be after all but men, yet with very little colouring beyond such as belongs to man generically.

Beside the stream of actual history of the past runs another stream of ideal history, the course not of that which has really taken place, but of that which is *supposed* to have taken place. Of course, speaking strictly, this is not one stream but many, for at every period there must have been the widest differences of opinion between men and men as to events which they witnessed, or of which they heard. But with every day the variety of these opinions would diminish, until after a while, one or two or three versions of each event would gain ascendancy and be perpetuated in books of history. Each nation or city or group of men would come to some rough agreement as to what they believed to have happened, and this belief would then take its place in what I have called ideal history. Of course nothing like all the versions of various events actually current have come down to us; sometimes we have but one version, sometimes two, sometimes a dozen: while objective history is a single line, subjective history resembles a skein sometimes of one thread, sometimes of two, sometimes of many.

However, infinite complexity arises from the fact that actual and subjective history are ever acting and reacting one on another. It is of course the object of every historian to recover so far as is possible, the actual objective course of events. But the historian's duty is not limited

to that. It does not in the least follow that if we can really settle the objective history of some event, we can afford to neglect the versions of it current at the time or subsequently. For it may often turn out that beliefs as to what took place, though not corresponding to the facts, yet exercised a greater political and social influence than the facts themselves.

This will be clearer if we take an instance from Greek history. We do not know whether the Greek tradition of a war waged by the Greeks in common against Troy was based upon fact or not. To prove either that it had a real foundation or that it had no real foundation would be a great triumph for a scientific historian. But at the same time the decision of this point would not be of great importance in relation to subsequent Greek history. The contemporaries of Miltiades and of Alexander believed that the Trojan war was historical fact, and that belief of theirs exercised an enormous effect on their political and military actions. So, if not itself a fact, the Trojan war became the cause of innumerable facts. Even if it never took place it was far more powerful among the realities of the world than if it had taken place and been forgotten for want of a *sacer vates*. In fact, anyone would easily see what a blunderer the historian would be who made a demonstration of the non-reality of the Trojan war a ground for asserting that it had nothing to do with Greek history.

It seemed the more necessary thus to insist on the value of ideal history in order to guard against the notion that the present book is in any way directed against the literary study of the ancient historians. It is true that it advocates as strongly as possible the most exact and painstaking attempt to discover the actual objective facts of past history. And it is true that its tendency is directed against the notion that objective history can be recovered

from the ancient texts alone, without the discipline of existing facts. But even if we knew with absolute certainty the entire objective course of ancient history, the texts of the great ancient historians would scarcely lose anything either in interest or importance. It is their modern commentators who would suffer, and not they. In some respects they would even gain, as their works would acquire a fresh psychologic interest, and shew us more clearly than before through what kinds of spectacles ancient historians looked at the events passing on around them, and on what principles they constructed their narratives.

It is, however, almost entirely with objective history that we have at present to deal. The existing facts of the world take us beyond the mere subjective statements of historians, and enable us to investigate in a certain number of cases the actual realities of past history.

And we are able to do this in two directions, first in regard to actual fact of past history, civil and military affairs, the dates of migrations and wars, of the founding of cities and their destruction, the very bone and framework of the past; and, secondly, in regard to the background of history, the state of manners and of arts, the customs of daily life and the cultus of the gods, the nature of houses, of arms, and clothing and the like.

To take a single monument of the past for illustration. Everyone who has seen representations of that marvellous tapestry at Bayeux, on which is portrayed, by contemporary hands, the Norman Conquest of England, will understand that it is naturally appealed to, alike when there is a question as to some of the actual facts of the adventures of Harold and the Battle of Hastings, and when we wish more fully to realise the outward life of the times, the forms of towers and churches, of ships and camps, or the arms and equipment of Norman and of Saxon.

We must briefly indicate the nature of the services rendered to ancient history in both these directions by existing fact of four classes: geographic, epigraphic, artistic, and numismatic.

I.

The geographical test is of all the easiest to apply to historical narrative, and that which requires the least special preparation. It may even, in these days of good maps, be applied in many cases without the necessity of foreign travel. But, of course, travel is a necessity for those who wish to make much use of it.

Of all tests which can be applied to the woof of history, the geographical is the most objective. The facts on which it is based depend not at all on man and his fancies, but on the laws of physics and chemistry. Thus primarily they can be applied only to the recovery of objective history, and not immediately to ideal history. It may, in some cases, turn out that geographical fact is totally at variance with all the accounts of an event which have been handed down to us: in such a case we are almost helpless. But far more often the facts of geography will establish one and discredit the other of two contending views of an event.

Let us take an instance or two. In the first volume of the *Transactions* of the American School at Athens, Professor Goodwin has published a masterly criticism of that account of the battle of Salamis which has generally passed current, and is adopted by Grote, Busolt, and other authorities. This account, based professedly upon the text of Herodotus, supposes that on the night before the battle the Persian fleet which had been stationed in the neighbourhood of Athens, moved right along the shore of Attica to Eleusis, so as to block the Greek fleet into the opposite

harbour of Salamis; and that with morning it advanced in long line from the shore of Attica against the Greek fleet to destroy it; but was beaten in a battle in the straits. Professor Goodwin's first object is to prove that this account cannot be reconciled with the geographical facts of the straits. The map in Grote's history, where it looks not impossible, is incorrectly drawn, and on so small a scale as to be merely misleading. The writer then goes on to consider the only alternative view which the configuration of the district permits; namely, that the Persians did not blockade the Greeks by sailing through the straits between Attica and Salamis, but only blockaded the other end of the straits towards the Megarid by sending a squadron round the south coast of the island of Salamis. That this is what really took place he produces strong arguments to prove, for which I can only refer to the paper itself. And Professor Goodwin might have said, in the manner of many a hasty writer before and since, that if Herodotus gives a different account Herodotus must be wrong. But Mr. Goodwin is not content with so summary a dismissal of testimony; so, after making out the course, which, according to his observation of geographical facts, the battle must have taken, he turns again to our ancient authorities, Aeschylus, Herodotus and Ephorus, as followed by Diodorus, to see if the ideal account accepted by them was really in contradiction with fact. He tries to shew that the language of Diodorus (Ephorus) and of Aeschylus, who was probably an eye-witness of the battle, suits the version of the strategy which he proposes, better than the received version. And, finally he maintains that even the language of Herodotus is very easily to be reconciled with his own view.

Of course it is only on the spot that one could finally test the arguments of Mr. Goodwin: and his views do not

seem to be accepted by some of those who have since written on the subject. But whether he be right or wrong, in any case his method is admirable. His facts are worth thousands of pages of learned comments on ancient texts, if made without regard to things, and merely based on the interpretation of words.

A second instance is furnished by the very careful investigations of Gen. Cunningham as to the place and details of the battle between Alexander and Porus, published in the first volume of his *Ancient Geography of India*. It is true that Gen. Cunningham's discussion is marred by a want of critical power, for he does not make sufficient distinction between the trustworthy narrative of Arrian, based on the testimony of contemporaries, and the comparatively valueless statements of Curtius. But he redeems this fault by the care and thoroughness of his topographical studies, and the determination with which he himself marched on the roads which Alexander's army would take to reach the Indus, thus testing their practicability. His views appear to be in harmony with Arrian's narrative, though of course unless one has been on the spot one cannot fully judge of them. It is geographic survey and experiment only which can, in a case like this, establish a solid causeway across the marsh of uncertainty, rendering easier the labours of every scholar who shall in future concern himself with this passage of history.

I should not omit to mention in this connexion the vigorous and repeated efforts of Prof. Ramsay, Mr. Hogarth and others, to throw light on the confused geography of Asia Minor, and on the course taken by the roads in prehistoric, in Persian, and in Roman times. The expeditions of Xerxes, of the younger Cyrus, of Alexander, of Trajan, must all be wrapped in some degree of uncertainty as regards detail, until we more fully know the geography of Western Asia.

II.

The second test is furnished by inscriptions. It is however at once evident that ancient inscriptions can never furnish us with so objective a test for history as geographical facts. There has perhaps been some misunderstanding on this point, and too pronounced a tendency in certain quarters to regard inscriptions as infallible, which they clearly are not. All that we can prove from the recovery of an inscription is, firstly, that a certain version of fact was current in a particular time and place, and secondly that this version was proclaimed by the public setting up of a document recording it. The value of the testimony of inscriptions must be judged by the same canons as that of any other testimony, and it can in some cases only help us to recover ideal, not objective history. But for instance, if the inscription contains a law or decree of any kind, it is an objective fact that the law or decree was passed and recorded by authority.

As regards the earlier part of ancient history, the annals of the Egyptians and Assyrians, it is well known that in our days inscriptions are the main source of knowledge, and the writings of authors like Berosus, Diodorus, and even Herodotus are only used, with the greatest caution, to fill gaps, or to compare with the contemporary documents, the mass of which is yearly growing upon us. As an instance of the abundance of this ancient material, there are in the British Museum thousands of un-read cuneiform tablets, so many in fact that it has been stated that they cannot be read and arranged in less than a century from now; yet every year increases the stock.

The importance of the cuneiform documents has come home to classical scholars in connection with the question of the credibility of Herodotus. Not many years ago

critics were divided on the question whether the testimony of Herodotus or that of Ctesias was preferable in regard to the ancient history of the East, and the controversy would doubtless have been periodically revived, the "last new view" being on one side or the other alternately, but for the possibilities of verification now offered by cuneiform tablets, which have decided for all time that Ctesias was the impostor and Herodotus the true man.

But with regard to the value of Greek inscriptions, the opinion of the learned is not so unanimous; and it has sometimes been proclaimed with authority that Greek inscriptions are of little value for Greek history. It is easy enough to understand how such an opinion could arise in the mind of a scholar who should approach Greek history only from the literary side. And it has thus much of truth in it, that it is but seldom that we can quote a statement of Herodotus or Thucydides, and then print on the opposite page the text of a Greek inscription which disproves that statement. Such instances can be found. For example, Grote rejected on the ground of the silence of Thucydides, the assertion of some ancient authorities that the tribute which the Athenians exacted from their allies was doubled towards the end of the Peloponnesian war. Nor could the question between Thucydides and the other writers have ever been settled but for the testimony of one of the inscriptions published by Köhler in his *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Delisch-Attischen Bundes*, which proves beyond question that such a raising of the tribute did occur. And the new fact tells against Grote's view of the character of the Athenian government.

In regard to the services of inscriptions to the bone and framework of Greek history it is sufficient to refer to these tribute-inscriptions or to the *Parian Chronicle* now preserved at Oxford. Yet it is generally allowed that the corrections in historical fact due to inscriptions are really

but a small part of their use and importance to us. They are continually leading us into fields where the ancient historians are silent. They show us what the relations were between city and city, what laws were passed to govern the conduct of the citizens, what decrees in honour of benefactors. They reveal to us a hundred traits of manners and feeling, a hundred customs of religious cultus or of daily life. The ancient historians give us full descriptions of the manners and customs of the barbarous nations outside Greece, but naturally they assume a knowledge of Greek manners in their readers, a knowledge necessarily existing at the time, but now barely to be gained by the most laborious application to literature, to art, and to inscriptions. And the facts thus acquired and held in the mind are as important for verifying ancient history as are the facts of Greek geography. They as it were throw a strong light on to the background of history, whereby we may see with far greater accuracy the progress of events which passes in the foreground.

With inscriptions we should class, seeing that they are practically a kind of picture-writing or sculptured record, those historical reliefs which give us a professed representation of events in ancient history. As the well-known historian of the Norman Conquest tests the literary accounts of the Battle of Hastings by comparing them with the Bayeux Tapestry; so must those who would follow the history of the conquest of Dacia by Trajan compare the accounts of the Roman historians with the relief of the wonderful column which was set up to commemorate that conquest while it was still fresh, and which still remains in modern Rome as a legacy of the ancient renown of the Roman arms.

III.

The third test which can be brought to bear on history, that of works of art and style, is of all tests the hardest to apply. It can only be applied by specialists, and even by them with great caution. But special study is gradually teaching us more and more how much men may be known by their works. The bone of a fossil animal is not more expressive to the palæontologist than is a piece of pottery or a weapon to the student of mankind. And if the facts which we thus learn about man are vague and general, and do not extend to political detail, they are nevertheless very important in their way. For an instance of the application to history of this test of works we may go back almost to the origin of history itself, to an interesting statement of Thucydides in the eighth chapter of his first book. He says that when in his own time the Athenians at Delos proceeded to purify the island by removing the dead buried there, the majority of these corpses appeared to be of Carian nationality, to judge from the character of the arms buried with them, and the fashion of their interment. This statement of Thucydides is in itself thoroughly scientific. He speaks in just the same way as an archaeologist of the most modern stamp. It is true that if Thucydides had described, in but a dozen words, the fashion of arms and the manner of interment to which he refers, he would have laid us under still deeper obligation. He was writing, as was very natural, rather for his contemporaries than for the barbarians of future ages. But even writing as he does, he gives us a clue: and more than one series of excavations in the last few years has been undertaken in order to ascertain more exactly Thucydides' meaning in this passage, and to discover what value is to be attached to his observation.

In fact, not only this passage but the whole of the extremely valuable first fifteen chapters of Thucydides' first book cross and recross the path of classical archaeology a score of times. Sometimes archaeological research conveys to us for the first time the full meaning of his words, sometimes it clearly shows him to have been imperfectly informed upon certain points. Into all this I cannot here enter more fully. But there are few passages in any ancient author which gain more by the comparison with the testimony of the existing remains of ancient art and handicraft. In the following pages we shall have repeatedly to recur to Thucydidean statements as to early Greece; therefore we need not at present dwell on them at greater length.

The excavations on the Athenian Acropolis, of which below we give a brief account, serve greatly to clear and enrich our notions of the character of the rule of Peisistratus and of the doings of the Athenians just after the battle of Plataea. If other Greek sites were excavated in a manner as complete and methodical as Athens and Olympia, the additions to our knowledge of Greek history, both framework and background, would be incalculable.

IV.

The fourth test is that of coins. Coins are at once works of art and inscriptions, and the certainty of their date commonly makes them especially useful to the historian. When we have series of coins most of which bear dates—like those of the Seleucidae of Syria, the kings of Parthia and the Roman emperors—it is obvious how valuable a means they afford for determining the chronology of the reigns of the kings and rulers who issued them. For instance the dates of the reigns of the Parthian kings Phraataces, Orodes II., and Vonones are fixed, on numis-

matic testimony only, to the years B.C. 2 to A.D. 11; and these reigns date some important events of Roman history, and help us to determine the policy of Augustus on various occasions. As a rule the autonomous coins of Greece bear no dates, and their period can only be fixed by arguments of style and epigraphy. But the mints of Greece were so active that we are able in the case of hundreds of Greek cities to place beside their history, as recorded by ancient writers, a tolerably continuous numismatic record with which it may be compared, and whereby it may be occasionally corrected, more often supplemented and expanded. To give detailed instances would involve too long a disquisition; but a few cases of the correction or expansion of history by numismatic evidence may be summarily mentioned. We have, I believe, no record of a union of the people of the cities of Arcadia before the time when the Arcadian League was established by Epaminondas. Yet if there had been no tradition of a political union it is improbable that the idea of founding one would have occurred to that great statesman. On turning to coins, we find, issuing probably from the mint of Heraea, a very extensive series belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries, the inscription of which, Ἀρκαδικόν, is sufficient to prove that some kind of federal union, involving at least the use of a common coinage, must have existed in Arcadia as early as the time of the Persian wars. As another instance we may take the city of Patrae in Achaia. The language of Polybius and Pausanias seems to imply that the city, after suffering severely at the time of the Gaulish invasion of Greece, was entirely destroyed at the time of the sack of Corinth in B.C. 146. Yet we learn that Mark Antony, when he sailed against Augustus, made Patrae his head-quarters. This apparent inconsistency is made less hopeless when we find from the evidence of the silver coins of Patrae that the city must

have been commercially important and flourishing in the first century before the Christian era, doubtless in virtue of its position, which made it a convenient landing place of Roman officers coming to Greece. But by far the most remarkable addition made by numismatic evidence to ancient history is in the case of the Greek kingdoms in India in the second and first centuries before our era. Hellenic civilisation in India, cut off by the wedge of Parthian conquest from Syria and Egypt, ran its own course, and was little known of in the West. It has hardly any share in that history which consists of what is believed to have happened. The very idea of a Greek kingdom in India, though familiar to the archaeologist, is quite strange to most students of ancient history. Yet it was both powerful and extensive, and its results wide and far-reaching. It is probable that even Chinese and Japanese art owe a great part of their peculiar quality to Hellenic influence. And almost all that we know, or can ever know, about the Greek conquests in India, is derived from the testimony of coins and of rock-sculptures.

V.

Perhaps as good an instance as could be found of the manner in which excavation may sometimes correct and expand our notions of ancient history will be found in Mycenae. If we look at the index of Grote's *History* we shall find only one reference to a place in the text where Mycenae is mentioned. Turning to the passage we find that Mycenae is spoken of as the seat of a mythical race of kings. Apparently Grote did not know that the walls of Mycenae are still extant, nor did it occur to him that there are existing facts bearing the impress of the history of Mycenae; we might fancy that Mycenae admitted of investigation no more than Atlantis or Sodom. Yet much

of the ancient history of Mycenae has been recovered in the course of its modern history. First Schliemann discovered the graves of its heroes, rich beyond imagination in works of early art; and since then the Archaeological Society of Athens has brought to light on the Acropolis of the city the palace of its mighty rulers of prehistoric days, telling us much of their splendour and their customs. The fruits of the excavations tell also of the destruction of the city by the Argives, and of the colony which they sent to dwell within the mighty walls. They shew that that colony was established in the third century B.C., and remained for some centuries; and some inscriptions recently unearthed tell of a transplanting of the inhabitants by Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, to Lacedaemon, and of their subsequent return to their own city; and inform us of their government and tribal divisions. "These inscriptions," writes their editor, "prove the inaccuracy of three ancient writers Strabo, Diodorus and Pausanias, who all assert that Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives after the Persian wars, and remained thenceforward an uninhabited ruin."

It is not unlikely that there may seem in our instances something pedantic and overstrained. Our interest in ancient history, it may be said, lies not in details but in large masses. It matters little how early the Arcadians acquired a political unity or what Nabis did to Mycenae; that which interests us is the constitution of Athens, the repulse of Persia, the brief bloom of Thebes. Life is not so long that we can spend our days over the unimportant fates of uninteresting tribes and towns. And I am quite ready to confess that there is some force in this objection, especially when urged by those who do not intend to give special attention to ancient history. But to a certain degree the objection may be met.

In the first place, it is no less true as regards history

than as regards physical science, that fact is fact, and as such sacred. And it is never possible to tell what facts may have a wide bearing. It continually happens—it has often happened within my experience—that archaeological facts to which their discoverers attached very small importance have been at once seized on by historians, by the men of general views, as of the highest value; abundant instances may be found in Busolt's new history of Greece. Every fact is a thing of infinite possibilities; it may lie unused for years or generations, until some new fact suddenly appears to make it fruitful. None of us can tell what is a negligible quantity in history; and sometimes the smallest-looking rock of reality will upset a whole cargo of received views and send them to limbo for ever.

And in the second place, no one who was practically acquainted with the process of verifying history would ever say that his knowledge had not materially grown in the process. There are effects on knowledge, and there are effects on imagination which go far beyond the mere attainment of accuracy in detail. By this process the mind gains a grasp alike of the flesh and of the skeleton or bonework of history. Our bones are covered with flesh and skin; but without the bones flesh and skin would lose their form and coherence; and in the same way all that is morally instructive and intellectually stimulating in history rests on the arrangement of facts. A criterion the historian must have to decide is what is possible and what impossible; and to the formation of that criterion the study of fact, epigraphic, geographic, and numismatic, tends very greatly. Such study, too, prunes away the excess of scepticism, and remedies a certain misology, a certain feeling that any one theory is about as defensible as any other, which is sometimes the result of too great an indulgence in general views. It is easy to start a new view in history, and the starting of a new view confers such

ready distinction, that apart from an occasional appeal to fact, it is hard to see how controversy would ever come to a pause.

There is another point which must be mentioned when we compare the testimony of monuments with that of ancient historians. We are not likely to recover the works of Ephorus or Trogus Pompeius, or even the lost decades of Livy. Practically our stock of ancient historians is complete,* and has been complete for centuries. We can remelt by improved processes the slag left in previous treatments of the ore furnished by their writings, and so recover a little metal; but fresh ore is not likely to reach us from that quarter; whereas the number of ancient historical monuments accessible to us is increasing continually and rapidly, increasing at such a pace that the greatest of German scholars find the utmost difficulty in saving themselves from being overwhelmed by its mass. Boeckh's *Corpus* of Greek Inscriptions is but a few decades old; it contains about 10,000 inscriptions. In 1876 Mr. Newton estimated the number of extant inscriptions at 20,000 to 30,000. In the last ten years tens of thousands have been added to the number, some of them of the greatest value, and of enormous length. In the case of other systematic collections of archaeological facts, edition succeeds edition continually and each contains so much new matter that its predecessors are virtually useless. Thus the proportion between data derived from existing fact and data derived from the ancient historians is continually shifting, and always shifting in one direction.

* I have left this passage as it was written before the appearance of the *Athenian Constitution*, although that discovery has to some extent contradicted it. We are scarcely likely to be so fortunate again; and, in fact, the stir and freshness produced in Greek history by the new discovery is an apt illustration of the value of fresh matter in old-world studies.

That archaeology can ever take the same place in regard to Greek history which it has taken in regard to the history of Egypt and Assyria is of course quite out of the question; and yet it is difficult to set a limit to its continually increasing services, more especially to the history of the times before the Persian wars. We must also consider that existing facts bear testimony directly to the realities of objective history, which cannot be the case with historical writings. If we were to recover the text of Ephorus, of course its value would be unlimited; and yet in all probability it would increase rather than diminish our uncertainties as to the actual facts of Greek history, by giving us a new version which we should often find hard to reconcile with that which we at present accept. This has in fact been the result of the very important discovery of the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens.* But every new archaeological fact which is discovered tends not to the raising, but to the end of controversy. To take one instance. Every attempt at a history of Parthia hitherto written has necessarily begun with a discussion of the date of the Parthian revolt against the Seleucidae, which various writers have placed in various years. If we recovered the history of Trogus Pompeius, his date would give but a new impetus to the discussion. But among the thousands of documents discovered in Babylonia by George Smith, one came to light which bore a double date, a date according both to the Seleucid era, and to the era of Parthian independence. In a moment the Gordian knot was cut; and now we know that the date of Parthian independence was B.C. 249–8. Against the testimony of this little clay tablet, no statement of an ancient historian could stand for an hour.

Finally there is an influence on imagination exercised by the dealing with actual fact, which must not be lost sight of. History is verified by the intellect, but it is

vivified by the imagination. The sight of a battle exercises a very different power on feeling and fancy, from the mere reading about one in a newspaper; and if the newspaper account be read on the battle-field itself, the imagination will be greatly stimulated. Still greater will be the stimulus if dismounted cannon, scattered arms, and a ground ploughed by cannon balls add reality to the scene. In the same way Hiero of Syracuse becomes a far more real person to us as we look at the helmet which he dedicated at Olympia after his victory over the Etruscans at Cumae. And the historical reality of the victory of Plataea impresses itself more fully on us as we read on the bronze serpent of Constantinople the names of the Greek states which had a part in it. If the eye can see and the hand touch the results of the deeds of the ancients, we shall believe in them as we should never believe in them from merely reading our Herodotus and Thucydides. They come out of cloudland and become dwellers on our earth, men of like passions with ourselves, with human feelings and desires.

The *verification* of history, of which I have hitherto spoken, must be the work of scholars and specialists. But the *vivification* of ancient history, of which I am now speaking, belongs as much or more to the ordinary student. We must now briefly consider history not as a great branch of knowledge, but as a means of education.

The aspects in which history may be regarded are as many as the tendencies and prepossessions in the mind of man. One historian cares only to trace in the past the workings of political tendencies and forces; another is absorbed in following the succession of phases and modes of civilisation; another regards historical records as the chronicles of the struggles of races and national temperaments; another sees in the annals of nations nothing but a series of biographies of great men. Yet perchance all

would alike concede that one of the greatest benefits bestowed by the muse of history on her votaries is that she lifts them out of the ordinary dull routine of a monotonous life, and conveys them through bygone scenes and to distant countries; that she enlarges their ideas through the contemplation of states of civilisation different from the present; that she widens their charity by laying out before them a vast panorama of forgotten beliefs and endeavours; that she softens their hearts with emotions of pity and admiration for persons who have lived and died; that she helps them to the goal of right action by mapping out the course whereby others have attained that goal.

But the history which should enlighten the intellect and furnish wings to the imagination is not to be lightly approached. Only by long and patient discipline alike of mind and fancy can the genius of history be mastered and compelled to do our bidding. To read the pages of historians, to remember the sequence of events and their dates; this is something indeed, but it is only the first step in the study of history. The second step is to go back to original documents, to read the statements of writers who were contemporary with the events they record; to pore over inscriptions, treaties, letters, charters; to place side by side the statements of authorities who have accepted divergent stories as to certain occurrences, and from the comparison to attempt to elicit truth. The third step is to fuse the collected material in the fire of imagination, and to remould it into a new whole.

Long and laborious is the historical training of the imagination. It demands the concentration of all the faculties, the absence of mean cares and uncongenial pursuits. There are two methods whereby it may be accomplished, two methods whereof either separately may partly avail, but only when the two are combined can rich and full and satisfactory results be attained.

The first method or way is the perusal of the literature of the country whose history is the subject of our study. In the literature of each age the spirit of that age finds its freest and most splendid development. When we read the Odes of a Pindar, the Idylls of a Theocritus, we seem to hold a close communion with their minds, minds with which all the spirits of their contemporaries were in close concert. The poet is the mirror wherein the spirit of his time is reflected, and if we gaze on the mirror long enough and steadily enough the forms reflected in it become real, and we seem to dwell among them, to see with their eyes and feel with their hearts. But this is not only the happy privilege of poets. The condition of scientific thought in the best ages of Greece is as accurately reflected in the pages of Plato and Aristotle as are Greek emotions in the songs of the lyrical poets. In the works of the dramatists we see clearly the condition of an important branch of Greek art; we learn what thoughts passed across the minds of the audience which sat all day long in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens on the great festivals. The orations of Demosthenes and Lysias show us to what passions the fiery orators of Athens could make a sure appeal, and on what prejudices they could safely play in order to arouse sympathy and win a cause. Thucydides brings before us in the liveliest form the working of the minds of Greek politicians, the objects of their statesmen, their views of political forces; while on the other hand the older and nobler narrative of Herodotus exhibits the simple piety and open love of knowledge which distinguished the Greeks of the generation which witnessed the repulse of the armies of Persia.

The imagination may be roused by the poetry of the ancients and interested by their histories, but it can never be fairly seized and held captive amid the scenes of ancient life and history unless it be also approached

through the senses. Not only must we sympathise with the emotions of the Greeks and Romans and share their aspirations, but we must also see with their eyes and feel with their hands, stand where they stood, and sail where they sailed. It would be most satisfactory if every student of classical literature could climb the Acrocorinthus and look across the narrow sea at the gleaming temples of Athens; or could gaze from the Acropolis of Athens to where the highway of the Ægean is blocked by Ægina, the eye-sore of the Piræus; or could sail the beautiful Ægean amid the clustering islands which seem to draw on the mariner from one to another until he reaches new lands and a fresh climate; or could wander on the Palatine at Rome and trace the walls of early Rome, and observe the sites of the first temples of the Republic, and look away thence to the hills where stood in early times the little citadels which sheltered the enemies of the babyhood of Rome. All this I say is most desirable; indeed I incline to think that no one who has not stood in Pompeii can imagine the vast gulf which separates ancient from modern manners, or understand how far less complex was that civilisation than ours.

But all cannot travel, and even those who do travel need a special preparation to enable them to gain all that may be gained from a stay in lands of classical antiquity. The great substitute or complement for foreign travel is the study of archaeology, which, no less than travel, acts directly on sense and imagination, and gives to our conceptions of ancient history and manners a vivid reality which they would otherwise never attain. When we carefully restore on architectural principles the Olympieium or the Erechtheium, when we follow the rise, development, and fall of Greek sculpture, when we examine and compare the innumerable vase-pictures which the piety of the ancients towards their dead has preserved to us, when we

hold in our hands the gems wherewith heads of houses sealed their deeds and their cupboards, and the coins which they carried to the fish-market, we acquire through sense a connection with the ancients which is instinctive in character, and of a wondrous force. From feeling with them in small things we learn to appreciate them in greater, until their literature and history alike seem to rise from the grave of centuries and become once more alive.

Surely there never lived a people on the life of which external surroundings worked with deeper effect than on the Greeks. Certainly no people was ever so surrounded on all sides by the works of its own hands, works which acted at every moment on the mind both consciously and unconsciously. In the Greece of history every city was full of temples and porticoes, and every portico, every agora, and every temple, was one vast storehouse full of works of great painters and sculptors. Nor were these intended merely to please the eye and intoxicate the senses. There was not a statue and not a relief which did not speak to all beholders of some incident of mythology, or some notable deed of history. Mythology and history alike stood there in concrete form in all the streets and public buildings of the country. The Greeks did not hear or read of the gods and the deeds of their own ancestors; they saw them every day wherever they went. Love of their native city was not with them a sentiment, but a passion for this temple, that painting, that stoa. And when they went into their houses the same scenes which they had witnessed without, met them again within. The walls of their rooms, and the pottery of common use, were all painted with exploits of gods and men. Their very mirrors and pins were adorned with human figures, not one of which wanted its meaning. Thus to the Greeks the works of their artists were not merely things to admire, and symbols of worship, they were geography, history,

religious teaching, and literature. For the common people the rare scrolls of parchment and papyrus which held the writings of authors were far out of reach; it was less through the ear than through the eye that they received the education which raised them out of the narrow limits of the present. How then can any one aspire to understand Greek manners, Greek civilisation, Greek history, if he is ignorant of the chief source of Greek education, and knows nothing of what occupied constantly the largest part in the minds of the people?

"Large and health-giving" is the phrase applied by a French statesman, who also stands in the first rank as an archaeologist, to the science of archaeology, and large and health-giving it is. Large because it treats of the outer or external side of all the works of man since he came into being, health-giving because it adds a venerable character to all the products of the energy of our fathers and ancestors natural and spiritual, impressing on us the continuity of life, and imparting a strongly developed sense of a common humanity. And most health-giving is it because it deals entirely with facts, not with words, with actual objects, and not with mere notions. To the archaeologist every fragment of wood, of stone, or of metal, on which a human hand has worked, is an embodiment of a thought, an illustration of a phase of civilisation. Everything has a meaning and a history, and tells of human effort, human progress, human culture.

CHAPTER II.

PHRYGIA AND TROAS.

IT is probable that no region in the world holds such treasures for archaeology as does Asia Minor. In respect alike to abundance of art remains and gain in historic knowledge we may expect in future to reap a harvest of unimagined richness in that most interesting country. There lie buried the remains of a score of civilisations which flourished successively or contemporaneously in the dawn of consecutive history, and furnish a ladder of transition between the old-world empires on the banks of the Tigris and the Nile, and the new civilisation which takes its rise in Greece. And Asia Minor is in most parts still virgin soil to the excavator. Italy and South Russia are in great part worked out. Greece proper has of late years been so eagerly searched that her marvellous archaeological treasures are rapidly becoming known to us. But Asia Minor is to the historian what Africa is to the geographer, a vast new region of unknown possibilities, a continent the exhaustion of which lies beyond the limits of our foresight.

During the last decade most of the nations of Europe have at least gleaned in this rich field. The Germans have carried to Berlin the spoils of Pergamum, works of an art somewhat florid and sentimental but of marvellous power and variety. The Austrians have despatched a well-appointed mission to Lycia, and brought back the interesting sculptures of Gyöl Bashi, which decorated a great

tomb near Myra. The French have excavated at Myrina; the Americans at Assos. Schliemann has revealed city beneath city on the site of Hissarlik in the Troad. Even the Turks have been roused to emulation, and have determined to secure a share in the discoveries. And besides excavations we have had energetic and learned travellers, penetrating the country in every direction: Humann and Hirschfeld, Benndorf and Puchstein, Paris and Sterrett, Ramsay and Hogarth have all added greatly to our knowledge of the inner lands of Asia Minor and of the monuments which still remain above the surface of the soil.

To England there has fallen but a moderate share in these achievements. If we had shewn more energy or been ready to spend money, our share in the rich spoil of the buried Hellenic cities might have been great; but since Wood's excavations at Ephesus came to an end for want of funds, no excavations of any great extent have been carried on by Englishmen among the cities of the coast. On the other hand in the exploration of the interior they have taken a prominent part. In spite of fever and robbers, of general indifference and narrow financial resources, Professor Ramsay has plunged year by year into the heart of the country, accompanied by Mr. Hogarth and various younger companions, and has succeeded in greatly increasing our knowledge of the early inhabitants of the great central table-land from the earliest times to those of the Turks. His papers scattered through the pages of a multitude of learned Journals, are the best foundation for a study of a race whose history and whose relations to the Greeks have hitherto been made little of, the ancient inhabitants of Phrygia.

In the works of the great Greek writers which have come down to us, notably, in the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, the Phrygians figure but little. To the

Greeks generally they were known but as the race whence most of their slaves were drawn, as a people branded with the qualities of slaves, idleness, cowardice, effeminacy. The few fables in regard to Phrygian antiquity which were current in Hellas were mainly concerned with Midas who turned all that he touched into gold, and Marsyas who rashly provoked Apollo to a musical contest, and paid for his temerity with his skin. From the Phrygians came those orgiastic forms of religious cult which were connected with the worship of Dionysus and of the Mother of the Gods, orgies which led alike to sensual excess and to hideous self-mutilations, to semi-religious frenzy and bestial immoralities, against which the strong good-sense of the better Greeks set itself at all periods, though it could not deprive them of their attractions for the lowest of the people. And yet it was to this race sunk in corruption, except when roused by frenzy, that the warlike Trojan stock belonged. Hector and Aeneas were Phrygians; and the most manly race of the ancient world, the Romans, were proud of their supposed descent from shepherds of Phrygia.

This remarkable inconsistency may be solved if we adopt Mr. Ramsay's views.* He thinks that in the second millennium before the Christian era there was spread over Asia Minor, perhaps over most of Greece and Italy also, a congeries of races, probably of a Semitic or Canaanite cast, races of no vigorous character and no advanced civilisation. We can still observe traces of the section of this group of races which dwelt in Asia Minor in language and in custom. The place-names ending in -nda and -sa, so common in many parts of Asia Minor, give us a hint as regards their language. They traced descent, as do all peoples at a certain stage of their progress, through the

* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. 351.

mother and not through the father. As with nations in the stage of *Mutterrecht* their chief deity was female, the deity afterwards called by the Greeks Cybele, who was in their cult connected with the effeminate Attis. They were a people of shepherds and ploughmen, little skilled in the art of war, and using only inferior weapons. Many of them were grouped as temple-slaves about the shrines of the great female deities.

In this age, according to Mr. Ramsay, the main seat of political power was the City of Pteria in Cappadocia, a city the extensive ruins of which at Boghaz Keui still attest its former power. The people of Pteria frequently engraved on the rocks the figures of their deities, accompanying those figures by hieroglyphic signs of a peculiar kind. Similar reliefs and similar hieroglyphic inscriptions across Asia Minor and even on the West Coast, such for example as the figure of a warrior in the Kara Bel near Smyrna, seem to show that the civilisation and probably the dominion of Pteria was widely extended. Mr. Ramsay finds the best proof of the power of Pteria in the course of what was the main road of Northern Asia Minor, which seems to find its main reason in Pteria, and which passed the river Halys by a bridge, the mere erection of which at so early a period seems to Mr. Ramsay a proof of no small skill in engineering. This view, it must be confessed, receives small support from ancient writers, of whom only Herodotus even mentions Pteria; it is based upon geographical arguments and on existing facts.

Into Asia Minor thus peopled there broke at some uncertain, but very early period, conquering warrior tribes kindred to the Greeks, who came across the Hellespont from Thrace. These tribes were known by various names, Lycians, Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, and the like; but they probably differed but little one from the other in race

and language. In place of the *Mutterrecht* they introduced descent through the father, an important step in early progress. Their chief deity was male, a thundering god like the Greek Zeus, known in Asia Minor as Papas (Father), or Bronton (Thunderer), or Osogo. They made their way chiefly by the superiority of their armour. Herodotus tells us that round shields and crested helmets were inventions of the Carians; and no doubt the kindred tribes shared in these useful discoveries. Of the battles which they waged against the Semitic inhabitants we have a reflex in the curious story told in the Iliad* how Priam of Troy fought on the side of the Phrygians in a battle on the river Sangarius against the hosts of the Amazons; since the Amazons would naturally represent to the imagination of the invaders the Asiatic hosts which worshipped a goddess, and traced their descent through the mother. These warrior-tribes were for a time dominant, but were by degrees, as is always the case, absorbed into the body of the people among whom they dwelt. To their number would belong the valiant soldiers of Priam, the Carian auxiliaries of the Egyptians, the horsemen who made the strength of the army of Croesus, but though they had hegemony in Asia Minor, and planted there many cults and many customs, they never made the mass of the population. They were an aristocracy like the Spartans in Laconia and the Thessali in the plain of Thessaly.

Such in outline is the view to which Mr. Ramsay has been led, partly by the researches of his predecessors, and partly by his own. It is by no means established truth, as he readily allows. There is a doubt whether we should attribute the hieroglyphics of Asia Minor to the influence of the Cappadocians of Pteria, or of the Hittites of Carchemish. Nevertheless the view that the semi-Greek

* III. 184.

races of Asia Minor were an invading and conquering aristocracy, a view in which Mr. Ramsay by no means stands alone, seems best to suit the facts of the case. To them belong the royal tombs of Asia Minor, notably of Lycia and Phrygia, with their inscriptions written in languages certainly of an Aryan character, and to them refer the warlike traditions which were handed down to the Greeks. But that the mass of the people of inner Asia Minor were connected rather with the Canaanites of the south than with the Thracians of the north seems clear. The Phrygian Cybele and Attis, the Trojan Aphrodite and Paris, are so nearly paralleled by the Astarte and Adonis of Syria as to indicate an identity of origin; whereas the thundering god reminds us at once of the Zeus of Dodona who dwelt amid storms, and the Mountain-Zeus of Arcadia. The sacred cities of Asia Minor, Sardes and Comana and Pessinus and the rest, with their communities of temple-slaves dedicated to the service of a great nature-goddess, remind us of nothing Hellenic or European, but find a complete parallel in Syria.

Yet we must allow that this view is by no means free from difficulties. Neither Greeks nor Romans distinguished between the invaders and the primitive inhabitants. They give us no hint that the worship of Cybele belonged to a different race from that which produced the Phrygian kings, but on the contrary connect goddess and kings in legend. So it seems at any rate certain that in historical times there was a fusion of earlier and later inhabitants. The invaders must have adopted from the natives the worship of Cybele and imparted in return that of Bronton. And, as is usually the case, the older race as time went on asserted more strongly its preponderance.

Let us however pass from these somewhat vague speculations, and consider more in detail what is actually known in regard to the Phrygians, and in this narrower search we

shall find the travels and researches of recent years of no small value.

There are three districts in Asia Minor which are specially connected with the history of Phrygia.

First there is the region dominated by the majestic and romantic Mount Sipylus, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. This region was in Greek myth closely connected with the names of Tantalus and Pelops, those early Phrygian heroes who so largely enter into Greek myth. Everyone knows the story how Tantalus, richest and most luxurious of the kings of Asia, and so favoured by heaven as to become the guest-friend of the immortal gods, dared once in his impiety to set before them human flesh at a banquet, the flesh of his own son Pelops. Everyone knows how he was punished for this impiety in the lower world, and how the son Pelops, restored to life, sought his fortune in the land of Greece, and found it at Olympia, where he won the hand of Hippodameia, and a kingdom destined to extend over all the region named after him the Peloponnese. Thucydides says that it was the power of Phrygian gold which extended the dominion of Pelops, and to this statement we shall have hereafter to return. With the migration of Pelops the legendary history of that district ceases. The city of Tantalus was destroyed by an earthquake and hidden under the waters of Lake Saloe, and when we again hear of the region about Smyrna, it is as the centre of the dominions of the wealthy and powerful kings of Lydia: though it is of course very probable that there was scarcely any distinction between the races of the Phrygians and the Lydians. Lydian kings may quite well have carried on the sceptre of Tantalus.

Pausanias, a native of Magnesia, a Greek city which lay at the foot of Sipylus, says * that in his time there existed

* V. 13.

in his own country monuments of the kingdom of Tantalus and Pelops, "the lake of Tantalus which was named after him and his conspicuous tomb, and the Throne of Pelops which stands on Sipylus on the crest of the mountain above the temple of Mater Placiana." The identification of these localities has been the object of many excursions from Smyrna undertaken by Weber, Humann and Ramsay. A careful survey of the mountain and patient excavation of all interesting spots would bring great gain to history, and probably settle finally the question of the historic value of the Tantalid legends. But the mountain is precipitous and a favourite haunt of brigands, and hitherto little has been placed on a basis of certainty. It is clear that the whole district is full of the traces of early occupation by men who built fortresses on the rocks, cut steps, and formed cisterns and caverns; but in the absence of systematic excavation there is insufficient evidence who or what these men were. Two figures cut in the rock have attained a wide notoriety, the great statue of the Mother of the Gods * which is supposed to be mentioned in the *Iliad*, though in a late passage, and the relief in the Kara Bel which represents a warrior accompanied by a cartouche containing hieroglyphics. But both these works are not of the true Phrygian class but belong to the earlier populations.

The second historic district, that which lies on the headwaters of the Maeander and the Sangarius, is the Greater Phrygia of history. In this region lay the most notable scenes of Phrygian history and legend; the lake where

* Of this the best representations are those published by Weber in *Le Sipylus*, and by Humann in the *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 1888. pl. I. Both Humann and Ramsay are disposed to think that the Niobe of the *Iliad* (xxiv. 614) is not this figure, but merely some group of rocks which bore a fancied resemblance to a human figure. Mr. Humann publishes (*Ibid.* p. 22) a kind of seat hewn out on the top of a lofty rock, which may well be the legendary throne of Pelops.

Marsyas cut the reeds for his flutes; the spring where Silenus used to drink, and where he was captured; the city Gordium, where was preserved the wagon which had belonged to Gordias the legendary founder of the Phrygian monarchy; the scene of the early battles with the Amazons; the plains which were made rich by Phrygian ploughs, and which held the great cities the fame of which was known to the author of the *Iliad.**

It would seem that this region was ruled in the eighth century before our aera by a dynasty of wealthy kings who bore in turn the name of Gordias and of Midas. Herodotus speaks of a rich throne sent by one of these Midas kings to Delphi as the earliest gift received at that sacred place from any barbarian ruler. Of the reigns of these monarchs we have no annals. As they are not mentioned in the Iliad, where the Phrygian leaders are Otreus and Mygdon,† it is inferred that their rule did not begin before the ninth century. When the Cimmerians swept across Asia about B.C. 670, the Phrygians suffered terribly, and one of their kings committed suicide; but the dynasty seems to have survived until the time of Croesus,‡ who became master of the country. To Cyrus the Phrygians seem to have submitted peaceably; it would almost seem that the well-armed warrior clan had by this time died out, for while the Lydians in the army of Xerxes are said to have been armed like the Greeks, the Phrygians are stated to have borne only plaited leather helmets, with small shields, javelins and swords. In the same way the Thracians, whence these well-armed warrior tribes are

* *Il.* iii. 400.

† It is, however, not impossible that Mygdon may be a variant form of Midas.

‡ See Herodotus, i. 35, for the charming story of the Phrygian Adrastus, son of Gordias, and grandson of Midas, who slew accidentally Atys, son of Croesus. Croesus addresses him as a scion of a reigning house.

supposed to have sprung, are described by Herodotus, and in fact are represented on Greek vases, as equipped in mere barbaric fashion.

One of the reliefs discovered by Mr. Ramsay in the heart of Phrygia represents armed warriors with helmet and breastplate, in equipment almost undistinguishable from Greek hoplites; and this relief must have been cut long before the time of Herodotus. Thus the theory of a conquering race of well-armed invaders is not without definite archaeological support. Such are our difficulties in these racial questions, which sometimes make the investigator feel as if he were climbing a hill of sand or wading through a deep morass. But perhaps in some cases our difficulties spring, as they may in this, from the modern intellectual prejudice which insists in looking for continuous progress in all forms of civilisation, and which is very loth to believe that the great discoveries which tend to the raising and preservation of nations can die out. This prejudice has to survive many shocks in dealing with ancient history; since in many countries and for many ages the course of history runs steadily in a downward direction. As to Thrace in particular, classical Greek writers were aware that the country had greatly declined in their days in the direction of barbarism, that the country of Orpheus had ceased to be a place of poets, and the orderly army of Rhesus had given place to hordes of disorderly cavalry.

Thus in historic times the warlike and manly character of the Phrygian race was passed away; to the Greeks they were henceforth known as the most submissive of slaves, and very useful in agriculture. Their devotion to the plough may be traced in almost the only fragment of their legislation which survives, the law which punished with death the crimes of slaying a ploughing ox or stealing a plough. Like modern peasants of Asia, they were ready

to accept any ruler who left them the bare means of living; and so when early in the third century B.C. the Gauls made a settlement in Asia Minor, they seized a great part of Phrygia, which hereafter bore their name as Galatia.

We learn that one Midas took as his queen Demodica, daughter of Agamemnon of Cyme; and this makes it probable that through Cyme the Phrygians would receive letters and something of Greek culture, a probability which has been confirmed in Mr. Ramsay's opinion by the discoveries of Phrygian inscriptions.

The legends which the Greeks received from Phrygia belong to this inland region, and they bear a uniform character of melancholy. Passing the well known stories of Marsyas and of Midas, we have the repulsive legend of the effeminate Attis, by whose example the priests of the Mother-Goddess justified their self-mutilation, and who was made into a pine tree. Then there is the curious agricultural myth of Lityerses, a son of Midas, a reaper who challenged all passing strangers to a contest in reaping, and when they failed slew them and dismembered their bodies, in which fashion he was himself treated by Herakles. The great antiquity of the country was proved by legends of the deluge which was said to have happened on the death of a king Nannacus. The Phrygians even had a legend of the ark which rested near Celaenae, and coins of Apamea struck in the reign of the Emperor Philip show that they regarded their traditions as identical with the Jewish legend which centres in Noah. It is more than likely that most or all of these stories belong to the early, probably Semitic, population of Phrygia; in antiquity there was nothing which conquerors so readily accepted from the conquered as religious cults and heroic myths. There is no tale of victorious kings or of foreign invasion, all the legends have reference to agriculture, music, and religion.

It is remarkable that features of the Phrygian character persist even to our days. Mr. Ramsay has remarked how the mixture of ascetic hardness and unbridled ecstasy which marked the Montanists among early Christian sects may be derived from their Phrygian origin; and under Mohammedan rule the whirling and howling dervishes keep up the tradition, and prove that deeply-seated national characteristics survive through all changes of religion. It is by no means unlikely that much of the blood of the early inhabitants may still run in the veins of the modern dwellers in Asia Minor.

To Colonel Leake belongs the credit of the first great discovery of Phrygian monuments in the valley of the Sangarius. Near Nacoleia he lighted on a rock the whole front of which had been scarped in the form of a temple-front, and carved with regular geometrical patterns with an imitative door in the midst. Around ran an inscription in letters closely resembling the Greek, recording the execution of the work by one Attes in honour or in memory of Midas. It was the first clear revelation of the Phrygian language, and it seemed evidently the tomb of one of the royal line of the country. It is true that some recent writers, including M. Perrot,* are disposed to see in the monument rather the shrine of a deity than the tomb of a monarch. Their main ground is that no actual sepulchral chamber is visible. But it may well be concealed: and the genius of the Phrygian race, which turned naturally in the direction of the commemoration of ancestors, together with the number of monuments in the neighbourhood which are certainly tombs, prevent us from following these writers. We hold it to be certainly a royal sepulchre. And this tomb appears to have been close to a city which may be

* *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v.; *Perse, Phrygie*, &c., pp. 89, 101, 181. M. Perrot gives the best general account which is accessible of Phrygia and its monuments.

judged from the extent of its remains to have been the capital of the Sangarian Phrygia. This city stands on a rocky plateau of which the general level is some 200 feet above that of the plain below.* "The rock is a rather soft and friable volcanic stone which splits easily in vertical surfaces; and either on this account or through scarping, or probably through both causes combined, the plateau is almost entirely surrounded by vertical faces of rock, absolutely inaccessible, except where a break occurs. Some of these breaks are wholly or in part modern, but many of them are ancient, and one can trace distinctly on each side of these old gaps the lines where the wall that filled up the gap fitted into the rock. Besides this there was a parapet built along the edge of the plateau." It is a thousand pities that we have yet to wait to an unknown future for the results which a careful excavation of this capital of an old-world dynasty could not fail to furnish.

The various expeditions of Stewart, Texier, Perrot and Ramsay have gradually revealed an extraordinary abundance of rock-cut tombs throughout the region ranging in date over the whole, or nearly the whole, of the twelve hundred years of the Phrygian, Persian, Greek and Roman rule. We may briefly indicate the classes into which these tombs fall, if we arrange them by the style and decoration of their façades. According to Perrot the oldest class is represented by a façade at Delikli-tash,† which is not unlike that of an early Greek temple without the pediment. It may perhaps at first be surprising to find a front of this form given to about the eighth century. But in favour of M. Perrot's view may be cited an interesting piece of evidence, which has hitherto been insufficiently considered. In a relief at Khorsabad, which represents the taking by King Sargon of the city of Monsasir in Armenia, we have

* Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, vol. ix. p. 376.

† Perrot, vol. v., p. 90.

a representation of the temple of the god Haldia,* and it is not a little surprising to find that it stood in almost exactly the form of a Greek hexastyle temple, with pediment. This remarkable building, quite unique among the reliefs of Assyria, seems to prove that the form of the Greek temple, like many other things, came to the Greeks through Asia Minor; and the façades of Phrygian tombs are like footsteps which the idea has left in its passage across the country from east to west.

The next group consists of the tombs which resemble that of Midas, and bear on their fronts a variety of geometrical patterns, lozenges, crosses and maeanders. Many such tombs have been found in the neighbourhood of the Midas city, and the inscriptions which they bear shew in whose honour or memory they were erected. It has been suggested that the custom of covering the façade of a tomb with patterns of this kind must arise from the intention of reproducing on a front of stone the patterns of the carpets which might well be hung over the doorway of a dwelling. Mr. Ramsay, however, thinks that the pattern bears a closer resemblance to tile-work; and it may perhaps be suggested that it bears a closer likeness still to the patterns natural to matting, as we may see them any day by looking under our feet, and that matting would form a very natural screen to an open door.

The third class of tombs is best represented by those remarkable rock-sepulchres guarded by gigantic carved lions which Mr. Ramsay found at Ayazinn, and which he justly considers of the highest interest. The most interesting of these, called by Mr. Ramsay the broken lion-tomb,† is a large chapel carved out of the solid rock. It is adorned on two of its outer faces with reliefs representing rampant lions on a colossal scale, and in a vigorous style

* Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, ii. pl. 141; Perrot, vol. ii., p. 410.

† See the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix.

of archaic art, and with a still more interesting group representing warriors armed with a panoply like that of the Greeks. Within are curious pillars with shell-like capital. Near this tomb stands another over which are sculptured two enormous lions face to face, almost in the attitude of those over the lion-gate of Mycenae, but with cubs at their feet. In the hills and plains around are strewn a variety of tombs, mostly of later date, indeed, in some cases clearly belonging to the Hellenistic or even the Roman age; the whole forming a vast series reaching from the rise of the Phrygian power in Asia to Christian times. And among the Phrygian tombs we find here and there rock-reliefs and hieroglyphics such as are associated with the civilisation of Pteria, and which are probably of an earlier date than anything Phrygian.

It is clearly impossible here to discuss in any detail these important archaeological data. Mr. Ramsay and M. Perrot are agreed that Phrygian art takes its rise from that of Cappadocia, usually called Hittite. But they differ considerably in their assignment of the period of that art. Mr. Ramsay thinks that the lion-tombs are the earliest, dating from the first days of the dynasty of Gordias and Midas; and that later the Phrygians developed the geometrical style of decoration, such as that used on the Midas-tomb, which must be given to the time just before the Cimmerian invasion of about 675. M. Perrot, on the contrary, considers that the tombs of geometrical pattern are earlier, dating perhaps from the eighth century; whereas the tombs at Ayazinn, with their reliefs of lions and of warriors shew the influence of Greek art, and can scarcely be placed earlier than the sixth century.* We

* The lions M. Perrot considers as copies derived through Carchemish of the lions of Assyria. Assyrian art, he observes, is the only one wherein lions are represented with energy and fidelity to nature. It is quite true that the lions of Assyria are far superior to those of

cannot venture to express an opinion as to the relative value of these views. In fact it must be allowed that most of the representations hitherto published of the Phrygian monuments, except in the few cases where they are based upon photographs, are so unsatisfactory and wanting in style that they do not render any final opinion possible.

Inscriptions of the Roman age, which abound in Phrygia, also furnish us with a mine, as yet but little worked, of information as to the language and customs of the people. Very important in particular are the epitaphs which appear on the late tombs of this people, some of them containing imprecatory formulae in an unknown tongue which cast a backward light on the graves of earlier times. They are a curious mixture of records of the dead and dedications to the gods. After recording the names of the dead and of the erector of the tomb, they often conclude with some such phrase as "dedicated to Zeus Bronton," or "payment of a vow to Papas," or "to the Mother of the Gods on behalf of so and so." It seems that in Phrygian belief those who died became in some sense identified with the national divinities, losing their lives to become absorbed in one higher and more general. This is quite typical of what we know of the Phrygians, a race soft and cowardly, easily reduced in this life by stronger peoples to penury and wretchedness, and consoling themselves by the ecstatic joys of their corybantic religion, and by the hope of escaping through the gate of death into another and a wider sphere. In a nation like this we must naturally suppose that the blood of a race kindred to the Greeks was almost lost amid that of the communities of temple-slaves of pre-Aryan race, of which we find so many traces throughout Asia Minor.

The main interest which attaches to Phrygia, after all,

Greece, or, indeed, to any which appear in art until the present century.

rests on the legends which connect it in early days with Greece, and notably with Argolis. But any consideration of this matter may best be postponed until we have dealt with the wonderful discoveries of recent years at Tiryns and at Mycenae. Meantime some account must be given of Hissarlik and the great questions connected with that interesting site.

The third district connected with Phrygian history is the Troad. It is sufficiently clear, even from the Homeric poems, that there was no racial difference between Trojan and Phrygian. Hecuba was a Phrygian princess, and Aphrodite, when she appears to Anchises in the Homeric Hymn in mortal guise, calls herself a daughter of a Phrygian king. Priam in his youth had fought among the Phrygians on the Sangarius; and Hesychius tells us that the name Hector was Phrygian. The Romans notoriously did not distinguish between Trojan and Phrygian; and if the languages of the kindred tribes varied, it varied probably only as in days before the invention of writing the tongues of parallel tribes of the same race always vary. And in later historic times we find the district of Troas called Lesser Phrygia: Xenophon tells us that in the time of Cyrus it was under the rule of an independent king. With regard to the Troad we have precisely that archaeological evidence which is wanting in case of Sipylus. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik have given us a mass of historical data as to the succession of inhabitants in this region.

It is unnecessary that I should here repeat the thrice-told story of the fates of Troy. Everyone knows how Dardanus, the son of Zeus, founded his city on the spurs of Mount Ida. His son Ilus founded "in the plain," as we are told, the city of Ilium; and Ilus' son Laomedon had the good fortune to receive the assistance of the immortal gods in building the walls of the city, which

"like a mist rose into towers." Like Tantalus, he abused the friendship of Heaven; and later when Herakles had slain for him the sea monster sent by Poseidon, he defrauded the hero of his rightful reward. Herakles, with his friend Telamon, sacked Troy, and placed on the throne Priam, the only son of Laomedon who respected righteous dealing. But Priam's son, Paris or Alexander, again fell into crime, carrying off from Greece the beauteous Helen, and bringing on the great Trojan war, which has been for all time the heroic model of military exploit. The only facts of the legendary history which it is necessary to bring into the field of possible history, and to compare with the results of excavation, are the twice repeated destruction of the city by Hellenic foes, and the circumstance that it was situated in the plain.

The excavations, which are still proceeding in spite of Dr. Schliemann's lamented death, must be mentioned, but must be mentioned with caution. In the first place, they are not complete; in the second place, in the course of them Dr. Schliemann executed more than once a complete change of front in his views; in the third place, the walls of recovered Troy, if so they must be called, have once more been besieged by a host of Hellenes, and in the din of controversy historic science does not always flourish. No one can deny that the recent excavations have furnished to anthropology and to history most valuable information. They have shewn how the little hill of Hissarlik was occupied during successive ages, reaching back far into the second millennium B.C., by successive strata of inhabitants. For a time the grade of civilisation which the superimposed layers of remains shew to have been reached by the builders of fortress after fortress rises. In the case of the second * city from the bottom, we can

* So called in *Troja* and in Dr. Schuchhardt's recent work on Schliemann's discoveries. In *Ilios* it was called the third city.

trace massive walls and gates, we can identify the foundations of a palace; and in the numerous works of the crafts of potter and smith which have been recovered we can discern proof of considerable proficiency in the arts of life. We can recover a mirror of a state of society in which indeed letters, coins, iron, all the great inventions of rising civilisation, were unknown, yet which could scarcely be called void of all civilisation or wanting in vigorous promise.

This city had more than one distinct period of existence, and perished, perhaps more than once, in violent conflagration; and on the site we can trace for ages afterwards the abode of communities far inferior in wealth, in power, and in arts, to that which had been destroyed, weak and unsettled tribes of no magnitude or cohesion, until at last we reach the beginning of the historic age, and once more strike into the stream of progress, a stream destined in this case to flow steadily onwards, since Greece has now lifted the human race for all time to a new level. Then we come into clear daylight. We know that we are surveying the remains of the city which Alexander the Great planned, and which his general, Lysimachus, erected; the new Ilium, which was in the intention of its founders to have been a worthy successor to the Ilium of old, and to have made amends to Athena for the loss of the temple where the Trojan women placed their offerings. A few more careful excavations of this kind would put us in our knowledge of human stratification in Asia Minor almost in the position which geologists hold in regard to the strata of the earth. They would place the science of prehistoric archaeology on a new level. But that which concerns us at the moment, the relation of the remains at Hissarlik to the story of Troy is even now more obscure than one could have hoped.

If the legend of the Trojan War was based, as it almost

certainly was based, on some events which actually happened, then there can be little doubt that the Troy which was besieged was the second or burnt city, which was built on the hill of Hissarlik, and the massive walls and gates of which still exist in stately array. Dr. Schliemann claims to have proved, by a series of excavations and surveys, that on no other site in the whole district there stood important fortifications in the prehistoric age; and, further, that of the successive cities which occupied the plateau of Hissarlik, the second city alone, which perished in a violent conflagration, was of sufficient importance to dominate the district round, and to shelter a warlike and powerful royal house. On the same site stood the later Ilium of the Greeks; thither went up Xerxes and Alexander the Great to sacrifice to the Ilian Athena; and in fact until the age of Alexandrian learning, the general voice of antiquity pointed out the hill of Hissarlik as the site of the city which so long defied the host of Agamemnon.

Further, as Schuchhardt ably argues, the Homeric descriptions of battles before the city gates, suit in the main the site of Hissarlik. A plain of three miles in width separates the city from the shore, and this plain is bisected by the ancient bed of the Scamander, which is joined to the north of the city by a stream which may be the Homeric Simois. It is true that Demetrius of Scepsis and some modern writers have maintained this whole plain to be a recent alluvial deposit; but against this contention we must set the verdict of Dr. Virchow, that it is by no means recent land: and we know as a fact that it has been as it now is for 2000 years. Towards this plain open the principal gates of the citadel. The Hellespont, on which lay, according to tradition, the Greek tents, is a little further from the hill, and reached by following the natural line of road, the course of the Scamander. Bounarbashi, which has been put forward as a rival claimant to

occupying the site of Ilium, cannot be said to stand, as did Ilium, "in the plain."

Turning to the question how far the Iliad corresponds in detail with existing fact, we reach many difficulties. It seems to every visitor that the little citadel on Hissarlik, which was but some 330 feet in diameter, cannot have enclosed the noble palace of Priam, or have sheltered the ranks of his tributaries. The little plain towards the sea seems too narrow to have contained the exploits of Achilles, and the long array of the Achaean host. And carping critics go further, and point out many small discrepancies. There is no place near the gate where rise, as in the Homeric descriptions, two fountains of water, one cold and one warm. There is no rising ground in the plain like the θρωσμὸς πεδίοιο on which Hector encamped at night, when he intended in the morning to drive the Greeks into the sea. Achilles could not have pursued Hector thrice round the citadel on Hissarlik without crossing the ridge which connects it with the hill behind. Such and many other difficulties have been raised by critics, from Demetrius of Scepsis onwards, who wished to prove that Troy must have had another site.

From the point which we have in these days reached in Homeric criticism, it should be easy to set aside trifling objections of this kind. It should be enough to say that it is ridiculous to treat the *Iliad* as if it were an accurate record. The race of Achilles round the walls is like the deeds of Diomedes when he overthrows Ares and wounds Aphrodite in the hand. The poet of the *Iliad* probably was not perfectly informed as to the geography of the Trojan plain; and could not limit the flight of Pegasus by the bounds of knowledge. When Victor Hugo describes the Battle of Waterloo, he makes the whole event turn on the interposition of a ditch, which, as I understand, other people cannot find: but that is no sound

proof that the battle was really fought somewhere else. And it is distinctly the character of Homeric poetry to magnify and exalt everything it touches. It turns farm-houses into palaces, bronze into gold, men into godlike heroes. Why should it not turn 10,000 men into 100,000, or a citadel into a broad-streeted city? In the same way, when the *Iliad* speaks of the windy heights of Troy, and even of the beetling crags on which the city stood, these phrases are by no means inconsistent with the facts of Hissarlik, or outside the range of Homeric exaggeration. It is partly a natural tendency of the imagination of the Homeric age, and partly a mere trick of language which makes the poet project everything on a multiplied scale. Our old English ballads have much the same tendency. And what is the Homeric exaggeration compared to that of Virgil or of Milton?

Unfortunately Dr. Schliemann and his assistants, instead of taking this sound and rational line of argument, have been led into an endeavour to fight their adversaries with their own weapons. If the citadel on Hissarlik was not large enough for Troy, there must have been a lower city of larger size lying at the foot of the hill. Of this lower city there is no trace, except one doubtful piece of wall, but this again can without difficulty be accounted for. If there are no warm springs near the city gate, there is at all events one at the source of Scamander in the hills above. Even Achilles must have his feat made possible by proving that the ridge he had to cross in his course round the city was in ancient times forty feet lower than it is now. As if such a hero as Achilles would care for forty feet more or less!

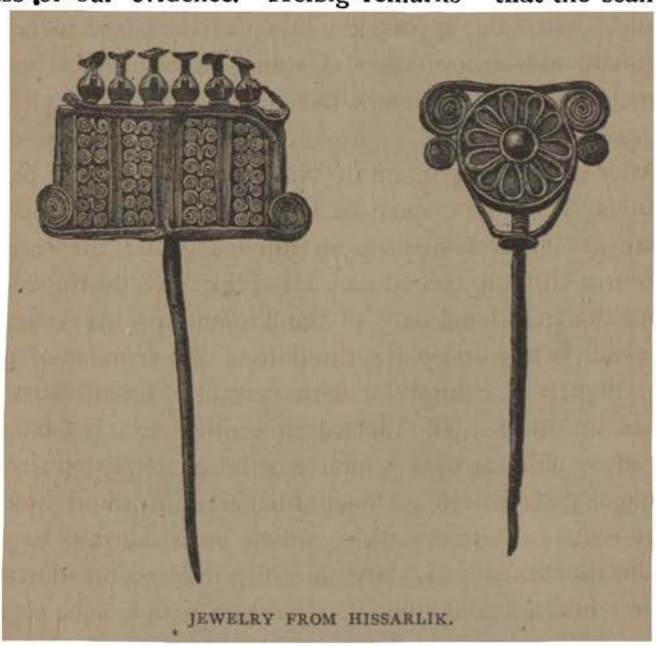
There is no real historic difficulty in the supposition that, in Greek prehistoric days, Hellenic chiefs led an army to the Trojan plain, encamped on the Hellespont, laid siege to the city on the Hill of Hissarlik, daily fought

in the plain with the defenders, and at last took their citadel and burnt it. We know from the testimony of the reliefs at Medinet Abu in Egypt, that in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. the land of the Nile was invaded repeatedly by swarms of warriors who came in ships from the islands and the coasts of the Aegean Sea; and in the lists of tribal names of these barbarians some Egyptologists recognize the name of the Achaeans. The period would seem to have been a swarming-time of the Hellenic and kindred races, and they may well then have made an expedition of which in later days they would not have been capable. But of course it does not follow, because such an expedition was possible, that it was actual. We can suppose the story of the *Iliad* to be so complete a transformation of some forgotten facts as to have no historic character; but in my opinion this view is improbable.

After considering internal evidence and historical probabilities, let us next turn to the archaeological evidence. There are great difficulties in supposing that the second or burnt city on the site of Hissarlik was destroyed at about the traditional date of the Trojan war by Achaean Greeks. In the first place, the date of the remains of that city, though it cannot be with certainty fixed, must be placed too early. The fourteenth century B.C. is I believe the most modern date which has been suggested; most archaeologists would go back further still. And among these remains there is nothing which bears kinship to any of the monuments of Phrygia which have come down to us, or which we could fairly assign to a people such as the Homeric Trojans. And the difficulties thicken when we compare with the relics at Hissarlik those of Mycenae and Tiryns, which we have reason, as will be shewn later, to regard as typical of the civilisation of the Achaeans.

In this matter at present the evidence seems self-contra-

dictory. The general remains of the burnt city, such as the vases which are moulded in the form of a human face, the terra-cotta disks with their curious devices, even the large treasure of gold and silver objects found by the walls, and commonly called the Treasure of Priam, all appear to belong not merely to a different civilisation to that of Mycenae and Tiryns, but also to a far earlier and ruder age. Most archaeologists do not hesitate to say that the burnt city of Ilium must have perished long before the palace of Ṭiryns was built, or the graves at Mycenae dug. I have myself more than once expressed this view in printed papers: and on the whole it is supported by the mass of our evidence. Helbig remarks* that the scanty



JEWELRY FROM HISSARLIK.

use of the potter's wheel, and the primitive forms of the pottery show the backward character of the Ilian civilisation: this pottery contrasts markedly with the far more

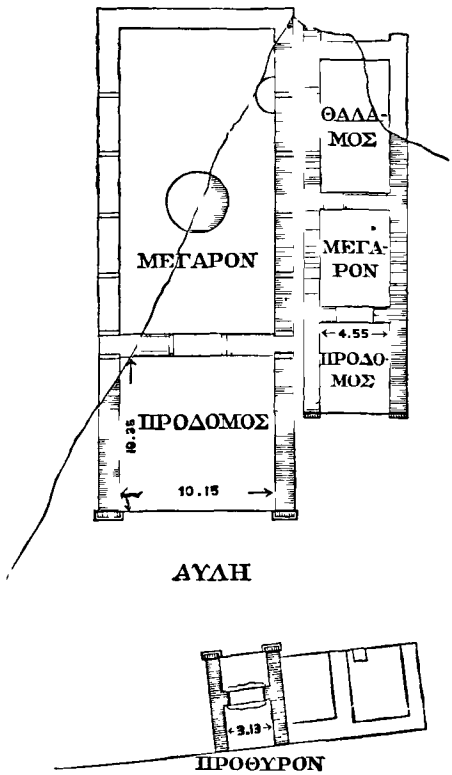
* *Homerische Epos*, 2nd ed., p. 47.

highly finished ware of the Argolis. The influence of Egypt or of Phoenicia, so clearly marked at Mycenae, fails altogether at Hissarlik. The inhabitants used no swords like those of Mycenae, but only short daggers, and a number of their utensils, axes, hammers, knives, and saws, were of stone; while at Mycenae stone is in most cases, save for the points of arrows, superseded.

But at the same time there are a few pieces of evidence which seem to connect Ilium with the cities of Argolis as regards date, as well as regards customs. In various spots, which are supposed to mark them as belonging to the civilisation of the burnt city, were found a few of those circular gold-leaves with impressed patterns of which so many were found at Mycenae, as well as bracelets, hair-pins and other jewels (p. 51), which were decorated with patterns of Mycenaean character. Since, however, in archaeology it is always unsafe to draw conclusions from a few specimens, this piece of evidence cannot claim great weight. It is as regards importance quite outweighed by another. On the summit of the hill at Hissarlik, and in a line with the principal gate, were found the foundations of a palace closely resembling those of Tiryns and Mycenae. It was divided into two parts, for men and women; it was approached through propylaea, and in the main hall stood a hearth just where it stands at Tiryns. Of course we cannot tell how long this kind of palace may have remained the usual abode of a king in the cities bordering the Aegean; such an arrangement may be in some cities older by ages than in others. Yet the fact we have mentioned is remarkable; and it may be doubted whether considerable value ought not to be attached to it.

If we sum up and weigh the evidence of various kinds as regards the historic character of the Trojan war, we must confess that at present it does not compel us to any posi-

tive conclusion. It is probable that the author of the *Iliad* had some historic siege before his mind, and that the place besieged stood upon the Hill of Hissarlik. Yet the only important fortress which occupied that spot in prehistoric times perished in a conflagration long before the assumed



GROUND PLAN OF PALACE.

date of the Trojan war, and before the rise of the wealthy Greek kings of Mycenae; nor do its inhabitants seem to have been of Trojan stock, or of a race kindred to the Greeks. If we could suppose that the author of the *Iliad* converted traditions of a siege and capture by the invading Trojans, of Ilium when it was still in the hands of a Syro-Cappadocian population, into his own story of a

siege and capture of the Trojan Ilium by the Greeks, a solution would be reached very satisfactory to archaeologists. The remains of the burnt city would well suit the Semitic peoples whom the Phrygians found in possession of Asia Minor when they came in. But such a view has in it too much of paradox, and involves too many historical improbabilities to be acceptable. It is very likely that, if we wait, fresh archaeological evidence will throw light on a matter at present so obscure, and make into a whole the scattered facts which at present do not appear to fit into one another.

CHAPTER III.

MYCENAE AND THE ISLANDS.

WHEN in the winter of 1876 the brilliant discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae, and the richness of the treasure in gold, silver and bronze which he brought to light, drew the attention of all Europe, every archaeologist felt that a new chapter in the record of prehistoric Greece was being unrolled, and a new light being thrown on an age which had been hitherto known to us only from the mythical legends of Greek historians, and from the immortal Homeric poems. The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann came to us as a first glimpse into an unknown world, but new glimpses into that world have been since afforded us by a score of interesting excavations and discoveries in Greece and the Islands. And it seems that the time has almost arrived when we can review and marshal the accumulated evidence. That we are yet prepared to indicate with clearness the general results to which it leads, and to compare in a satisfactory way the evidence of the spade with the evidence of legend and of poem, I do not say. But we can at least lay down a few lines which seem to be established by research and comparison, and measure out more exactly the amount of uncertainty which yet remains.

In days when the timid sailor dared not venture out of sight of land or out of reach of a port, the Argolid possessed remarkable facilities for commerce. The Levantine sailor, at

least until the sixth century B.C., loved above all to pass close under the lee of islands, or between islands and the coast, and dreaded the free motion and fierce gales of an open sea. To this day, when a sudden storm rises in the Aegean, the steamboats run for the shelter of the nearest island, and placing it between them and the wind, ride at anchor and wait. And those islands are perfect breakwaters. The change which comes over the sea when, during a high wind, one passes behind one of them, is marvellous. Now a vessel starting from Argolis could sail northwards behind a perfect screen of islands and without once striking into open sea, past Aegina, Ceos, and Euboea, as far as Pherae in Thessaly. Or it could voyage eastwards between two rows of islands as far as Cnidus or Miletus, or southwards to Crete. Or it could pass the isthmus at Corinth, and go westward through the sheltered Corinthian gulf to Leucas and Epirus. Being so favourably situate, it was impossible that the Argolid should have failed to carry on large commerce from times of the remotest antiquity. In the very beginning of his work, Herodotus states that the Phoenicians had no sooner settled on the shores of the Mediterranean, than they found their way to Argos, bearing Egyptian and Assyrian wares. These they would spread out on the beach, and hold a five or six days' fair, and they thought themselves fortunate if after disposing of their goods they could attract aboard their ships the fair daughters of the land, when they would at once set sail, bearing their precious prizes to the harems of the East. In the legend which states that Danaüs, who drove out the Pelasgic king Gelanor, was the son of Belus and brother of Aegyptus, we find a clear assertion in mythic form that the seeds of the higher culture which turned Pelasgians into Danaï came from abroad, and were brought from the seats of the ancient monarchies of Mesopotamia and of Egypt.

In the heroic age of Greece, Argolis contained three cities, all famous, though they clearly cannot all three have flourished together. The natural centre of the plain, the place which, apart from accidental reasons, must always have been the spot on which an invader would seize or in which a ruler would settle, was Argos with its lofty citadel. And the traditions of Argos mount up until they are lost in the mist of ages: Argos, like Ephesus or like London, had always been a city since cities were built in Greece. But to the other two cities of the plain are assigned definite founders. First Proetus, in the third generation from Danaüs, built Tiryns near the sea in the ways of commercial intercourse. And next Perseus, two generations later, built Mycenae on the spur of a hill that stands at the head of the valley. In the construction of both these cities the later Greeks saw the hand of the Cyclopes of Lycia. And it is not a little interesting to observe that there is certainly a similarity of style between the architecture of the lion-gate at Mycenae and that of early Lycian tombs, in both cases wooden beams being closely imitated in another material, stone. It is also the opinion of the best authorities that the existing walls at Mycenae are of a less early date than those at Tiryns.

The walls and gates which now remain at Mycenae enclose only the Acropolis or citadel of the early city. The slopes below were occupied by a considerable town. That the poet of the *Iliad* knew of Mycenae as a populous city is implied by the epithet *broad-streeted*, εὐρυάγυια, which he applies to the place: certainly no broad streets can have existed in the narrow and steep spaces of the Acropolis. Some traces of houses belonging to this lower town are supposed still to exist; a road among them can still be traced, and there are remains of bridges which spanned the mountain-streams. But these traces are slight and obscure, and must have been obscure during the Greek

historic age, for the Greek historians and poets all suppose that the Mycenae of Atreus and Agamemnon lay within the citadel walls.

We are told that sons of Perseus ruled both at Tiryns and at Mycenae. In the tale that Herakles, who was a Perseid prince of Tiryns, was obliged to serve Eurystheus, the hereditary ruler of Mycenae, we seem to find an indication that of the two cities Mycenae was the more important; and that it was larger is abundantly clear from the testimony of excavation.

According to the legends, only two generations intervened between Perseus and the accession at Mycenae of the Phrygian stranger Pelops, who established there a new dynasty. It is not necessary that I should here repeat the story of Pelops, one of the most brilliant and celebrated figures in early Greek mythology.* Everyone knows how he came from the district near Smyrna and Mount Sipylus, with his followers and his treasures of gold, how he won his bride Hippodameia in a chariot-race at Olympia, and how he gradually succeeded, according to Thucydides, by means of his great wealth, in acquiring dominion in the southern peninsula of Greece, thenceforward known by his name as Peloponnesus. Before the time of Pelops the legends of Argolis are vague and confused, but henceforth they become more consistent, and bear at least the outward appearance of history. Atreus was the son of Pelops by his Greek bride, and his son Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, is the hero who shines out so nobly in the *Iliad*, and who on his return from Troy fell a victim to the intrigues of his wife Clytemnestra and her paramour, his cousin Aegisthus. According to the story, Aegisthus held the throne for seven years, but in the eighth he was put to death by Orestes, who succeeded not only to the kingdom

* It is given in the seventh chapter of Grote's *History of Greece*, and in all the Dictionaries.

of Mycenae, but also to that of his uncle Menelaus in Sparta. Then came the Dorian invasion, which transferred Peloponnese from Achaean to Dorian hands. And thenceforth Mycenae which had for a time taken precedence even of Argos loses that proud position. In the division of lands, Temenus the chief of the Herakleidae set up his throne in Argos; and Mycenae must have been if not ruined, at least greatly reduced. In the time of the Persian invasion, it could furnish but eighty men to the army of Leonidas, and but 200 to that which fought and won at Plataea. Shortly afterwards, as we learn, the Argives expelled the inhabitants who remained; and the period of its independence came to an end.

But the whole period of Mycenaean history which is important in connexion with recent excavation is the five or six generations from the time of Perseus to that of Orestes. During that time, which may be reckoned as between one and two centuries, Mycenae plays a part in history which is unique. It is not merely the head of Argolis, but it is the first city of Peloponnese, and bears rule, as is said of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, over the island world which is the bridge between Asia and Europe. Thucydides was astonished at the legendary fame of Mycenae as compared with the smallness of its site; he did not know, as we do, that all that remained of Mycenae in the historic age was the walls not of the city but of the Acropolis. But we must postpone for the moment a full discussion of his remarks.

The second period of Mycenaean history which is important to the present purpose consists of the few hours during which the traveller Pausanias was wandering amid its remains, which in his time cannot have been in a very different condition to that in which they stood before the recent excavations. It is necessary to cite his words,* as

* ii. 16, 4.

they are important. "There remains of the city," he says, "part of the circuit walls besides the gate on which stand lions, the work, they say, of the Cyclopes, who built for Proetus the wall at Tiryns; and amid the ruins is the spring called after Perseus, also the underground buildings of Atreus and his sons where they kept their treasures. There is also the grave of Atreus, and of those whom Aegisthus slew while feasting them on their return with Agamemnon from Troy. As to the tomb of Cassandra, that is also claimed by the Lacedaemonians of Amyclae. There is a separate tomb of Agamemnon, also of his charioteer Eurymedon, and a common grave of Teledamus and Pelops, who were, they say, twin boys whom Cassandra bore, and whom Aegisthus slew while infants along with their parents .... (gap) .... (Electra) who was given in marriage by Orestes to Pylades. Hellanicus says that Medon and Strophius were sons born to Pylades by Electra. But Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were buried a little way without the walls, being considered unworthy of a place within, where lay Agamemnon himself, and those who fell with him."

It is impossible to extract from this passage, which contains several ambiguities, any quite certain result. But without entering into any long discussion, we may regard it as making certain points clear. We may take it that Pausanias mistakes the citadel at Mycenae to which the Lion-gate gives access for the city which lay around it in ruins. The fountain of Perseus has not been identified, though there are said to be water tanks in the citadel. The tombs of Agamemnon and his companions, and of Atreus and probably of Electra, were pointed out within the walls of the citadel, while the tomb of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra lay without those walls. To this testimony of Pausanias and to the question of its value we shall have to recur. Meantime we cannot but be sure as to what

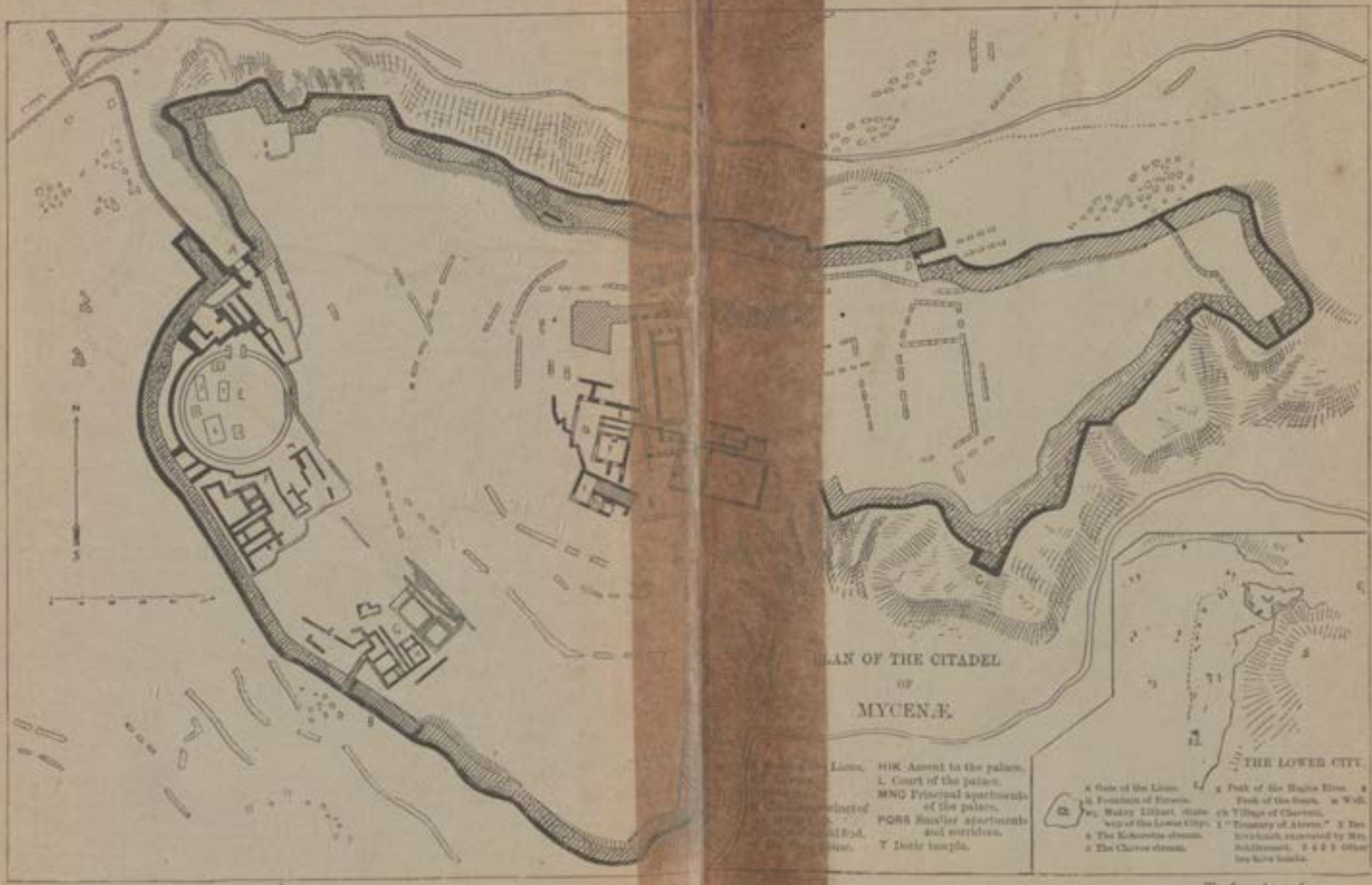
Pausanias means when he speaks of the subterranean treasuries of Atreus and his sons.

The subterranean treasure-houses, of which six at least are now known to exist in the lower city of Mycenae, are so well known from the numerous accounts of travellers that they need not be described at length. They consist of a circular chamber in the shape of a bee-hive, formed of massive stones laid in circles one over another, the circles becoming smaller and smaller in diameter towards the top until the whole is covered in by a single massive stone. This circular chamber is approached by a sunken way, and out of one side of it opens a small rectangular apartment, and the whole is so covered in with earth as to resemble in appearance a large mole-hill. It has been disputed whether these constructions were intended for tombs or for treasuries, but by far the most probable opinion is that they were both. In the rectangular chamber, which opens out of the larger one, were placed, in all likelihood, the remains of a hero or a monarch. In the circular outer chamber were stored all the articles of pomp and luxury which had surrounded him in life, and which were destined for his use and enjoyment in the shadowy future world, which was considered as a somewhat slight and joyless continuation of the present. Here were his cups of gold and silver, his tripods of bronze, his warlike weapons ; and, by a strange piece of realism, even whetstones wherewith to keep these weapons keen ; his sceptre, and all his wealth wherein he delighted. His body was covered with plates of gold, and perhaps wives or favourite slaves were laid beside him to be his companions in the future world.

Everything leads us to believe that these treasuries and the walls of the citadel are about synchronous. Both are alike built of tier upon tier of huge squared blocks of tufa. The principle of the entrance-gate is the same in both. Upon two uprights is placed transversely a block of

enormous size, above which is a triangular slab, perhaps carved in both cases with lions in relief, although the reliefs of the treasuries have disappeared. In the still extant gate of the citadel, the stones on either side of this triangular slab are arranged, just as they are in the treasuries, each tier somewhat overlapping the tier below, and the ends cut obliquely so as to fit on to the triangular slab—the very principle on which the whole of the treasuries are constructed. The doorway of the best-preserved of the treasuries has lost its decoration; but in the earth close by were found fragments of pillars of a similar character to the pillar between the lions on the citadel gate, and in addition specimens of that kind of ornament—consisting in rows of raised disks or bosses—which appears on the top of the above-mentioned pillar.

The third important period of Mycenaean history comprises the re-discovery of the buried treasures of the city in the present century. In the year 1808 or 1810, Veli Pasha, who was then Governor of Peloponnesus, heard the report that wealth was hidden in the building called the Treasury of Atreus. He dug down to the entrance, and his workmen searched inside. What they found is now disputed, and will probably never be known. On the one side it is said that not only were large masses of gold and silver ornaments discovered, but also twenty-five colossal statues. This story goes a long way towards refuting itself; for colossal statues do not easily disappear, and these having been, according to tradition, sold to travellers at Tripolitza, should be still remaining in that town or else discoverable in some of our great museums. The part of the story which concerns the statues being thus found wanting, we are inclined to reject the whole of it and to prefer the rival story, supported, according to Dr. Schliemann, by the memory of the oldest inhabitants, that Veli Pasha found next to nothing for his pains.


LAN OF THE CITADEL
OF
MYCENÆ.
HIK Ascent to the palace.
L Court of the palace.
MNO Principal apartments of the palace.
PQRS Smaller apartments and corridors.
T Doric temple.
THE LOWER CITY.
a Gate of the Lions.
b Fountain of Perseia.
c Wadey Lithari. Ancient way of the Lower City.
d The Kokoretza stream.
e The Charvas stream.
f Peak of the Hagios Elias.
g Peak of the Susta.
m Wall.
Ch Village of Charvati.
T "Treasury of Atreus." S Sepulchre, excavated by Mrs. Schliemann. 2 4 6 8 Other bee-hive tombs.

To face page 62.

After a brief excavation at Tiryns, where little of value was discovered, Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann settled at Mycenae on the 7th of August, 1876, and set sixty-three workmen to dig in the trenches. These men were divided into three parties, of which one was set to dig down to the entrance of a small subterranean treasury in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gate of the Lions; a second was to excavate through the gate a passage into the Acropolis; and the third party was ordered to make a huge trench just within the gate.

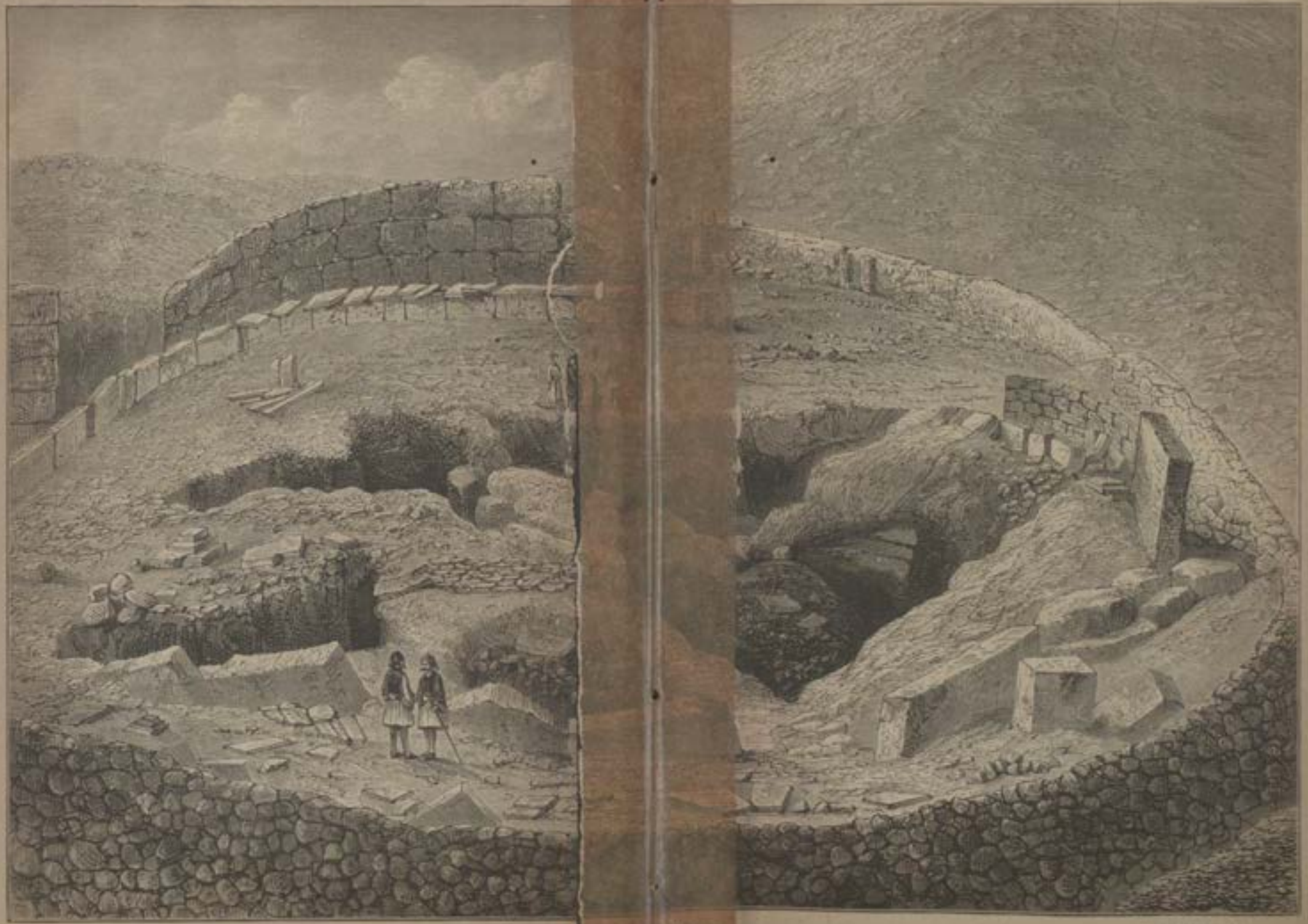
The first result of these diggings was the discovery that Mycenae, after its destruction by the Argives about B.C. 470, was again inhabited by a colony which owned the supremacy of Argos, and which must have remained for some time on the spot, as it has left a layer of débris some feet in depth. This colony probably belonged to the Hellenistic age. The trench cut inside the Gate of the Lions soon led to remarkable discoveries. It was found that the whole space there was occupied by a circle of stones, an enclosure made of two concentric circles of upright stones, the space between which was roofed by thin stone slabs. At first it was supposed that this circle was intended to form a continuous bench enclosing an agora for meetings and councils. That view, however, is now untenable. The barrier was too lofty to sit on, and it is most unlikely that any agora existed in the Acropolis; an agora would be found, if at all, in the lower city where the people dwelt. It soon appeared that the circle was formed for a definite purpose, to enclose a set of tombs of a very remarkable kind. The locality of these tombs was first suggested by the discovery at a depth of several yards below the surface of the ground within the circle, of some most curious tombstones, some plain, some carved with rude representations of warriors in chariots, attacking the foe or setting out for war, of lions pursuing their prey, or

of strange involved patterns, evidently not suitable to stone, but adopted from some other material. Beneath each of these stones lay a tomb cut deep into the rock below. Dr. Schliemann supposed that these graves, after receiving their contents, were filled up with earth, but Dr. Dörpfeld has since made it probable that each had a roof made of slabs of stone supported by beams of wood shod with bronze, which only fell in after many years.

In these rock-cut tombs lay the bodies of the prehistoric rulers of Mycenae. In two of them lay three women, their heads adorned with lofty gold diadems, their bodies covered with plates of gold which had been sewn on their dresses. In four graves lay the bodies of men, varying in number from one to five, some wearing golden masks or breastplates, all adorned with gold, not less profusely than the women, and buried with arms and utensils, with vessels of gold and silver, with a wealth of objects of use and of luxury sufficient to stock a rich museum of Athens, and fairly to astonish those who see it for the first time.

Of these riches it is impossible without illustrations to convey any impression. The reader must turn to the pages of Schliemann's *Mycenae*, or those of Schuchhardt's recent work on *Schliemann's Excavations*, if he would form a notion of them. All that we can here attempt is to give representations and brief discussions of the few objects which give us most historical information, and which are bases of our argument. Curiously enough, the most important of Mycenaean works of art required re-discovery after their discovery. The swords which lay in the graves were supposed by Dr. Schliemann to be of merely rusted bronze, but since then Mr. Kumanudes has carefully cleaned them and revealed devices inlaid on the bronze in gold and silver.* On one sword we see a series of gallop-

* Best published, in the true colours, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, vol. x.

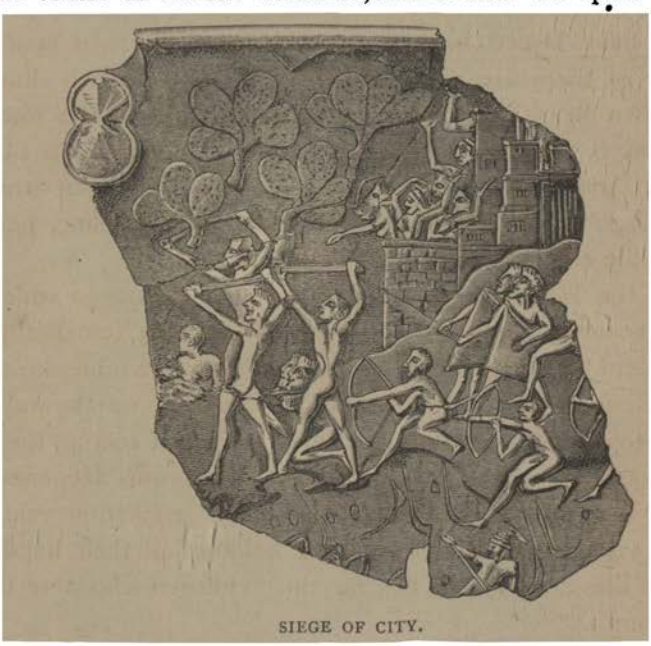


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MYCENAE SWORDS.

ing lions. On two others we find a scene of hunting. A river full of fish runs down the blade. Lotuses grow in it, and wild ducks are feeding among them. Two cats, probably tame, and trained for the purpose, leap among the ducks and seize them with mouth and paw. This is a subject which is found in wall paintings of the eighteenth dynasty in the British Museum * from Thebes in Egypt: the river, the fish, the lotus, the cat, the ducks all recur. On another sword we have a very vigorous representation of a lion hunt. There are three lions, all in varying attitudes; one flies, another also runs, but looks back; the third turns on the pursuers, and drags down one of them: the others in various attitudes, armed with the spear and



SIEGE OF CITY.

the bow, and sheltered behind huge shields, hasten to the rescue of their fallen comrade (p. 65).

A still more recent and perhaps not less interesting

* Page 54, No. 70, *General Guide*.

discovery is announced in the *Ephemeris** for 1891. Among the fragments of silver vessels found by Schliemann in tomb No. 4 on the Acropolis was one at the time thrown aside as uninteresting. But recently, on removing the oxide with which it was encrusted, Mr. Kumanudes has revealed a scene of no small interest engraved on it, and here repeated. A city with lofty walls is being attacked by some enemy, who unfortunately does not appear in the limits of the fragment. We see the women on the housetops stretching out their arms in encouragement to friend or supplication to foe: they seem to be clad in garments with sleeves. Before the walls is a hill planted with olives, and there the defenders of the city who have issued forth from the gates take their stand. Most of them are naked, armed with bow or with sling, but two bear large shields and spears, and in the foreground is a warrior who wears a conical helmet with tuft at top, and a jerkin covering his body and his upper arms and legs. Also some unarmed figures are kneeling, perhaps the elders of the city.

In the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* is a passage which might almost pass for a description of this remarkable fragment.† Mention is there made of the contending hosts of defenders and attackers, "and the women on the well-built towers were crying with shrill voice and tearing their cheeks, life-like, made by the hands of glorious Hephaestus. And the men who were elders and stricken in years were without the gate assembled, holding up their hands to the blessed gods, in fear for their children who were in the combat."

After Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae had come to an end, the place proved to be no exhausted mine. Further investigations carried on since 1887 on the

* *Ephemeris Archaiologike*, 1891, pl. 2, 2.

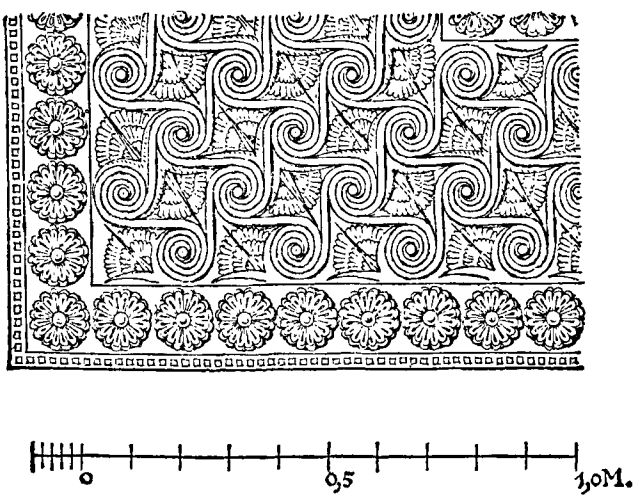
† Line 237, &c. Quoted by Mr. Tsountas in the *Ephemeris*, l. c.

spot by Mr. Tsountas on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society, have led to interesting results. On the very summit of the Acropolis rock were found the remains of a temple, and beneath that the foundations of an early palace. Of this palace we shall have further to speak in connection with the much better preserved palace of Tiryns. And in the lower city there came to light a large number of graves of the common people, also of the prehistoric age. It may seem strange that any people should place the tombs of the dead amid the dwellings of the living; but we know on good authority that such was in some places the early Greek custom. Plutarch mentions it among the institutions of Lycurgus that the dead should be buried in the city and near the temples; and this, like most of the Spartan customs, was probably very ancient. The contents of these graves are in some cases later in character than those of the royal tombs, forming a transition to what we know as the art of historic Greece. But on the whole the accordance in technique and style with the remains found by Schliemann is close, and furnishes abundant proofs, if such were needed, that these works of art are not in the main imported from abroad, but manufactured on the spot by a local school of workmen, and represent if not an indigenous at least a local art.

Great discoveries like those at Mycenae almost always prove like the letting out of water, and receive from all sides supplements and corollaries. So we need not be surprised that within the last fifteen years it has been made clear that the Mycenaean treasures are no isolated phenomena, but belong to a class of remains widely spread through northern and southern Greece, through Crete and the Islands. Naturally, attention was called to all the beehive tombs which existed in various districts, and in them and in other early sepulchres was found quite a wealth of the remains of heroic Greece.

In the very year of the discovery at Mycenae a grave was excavated at Spata in Attica, the contents of which bore so striking a resemblance to the antiquities of Mycenae that it was even shewn that objects precisely like some of the ornaments at Spata could be made from moulds of stone found at Mycenae. And yet a difference of period was observable. For at Spata there were a few objects, notably a head in ivory and ivory sphinxes, which we could clearly see to belong almost to the period of the beginning of Greek sculpture, properly so called.

With the contents of the tomb at Spata may be compared those of various tombs of beehive form excavated in recent years, at Menidi, at Orchomenus, at Volo, and in



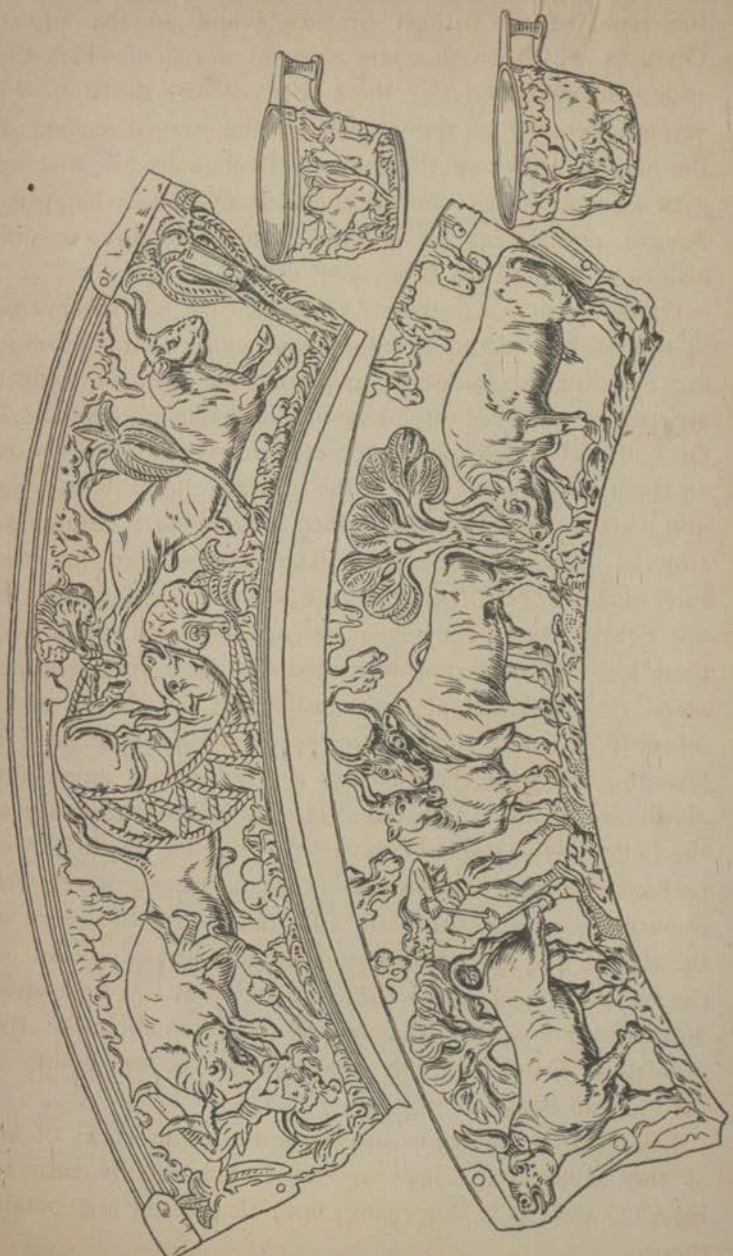
CEILING OF ORCHOMENUS.

other places. As a rule these tombs have been so completely spoiled in antiquity by robbers, that nothing remains but small fragments of bronze or of glass. But these serve to give us an idea of style. And we find that the style of these fragmentary remains is the same as the style of the objects from Spata, and the same as

the style of the earliest bronzes found on the site of Olympia, which on that site precede works of which the style is distinctly Greek ; these latter can be dated to the seventh century or thereabouts. The carved ceiling of the inner chamber of the tomb at Orchomenus is adorned with a beautiful pattern which closely resembles Egyptian designs, and seems to indicate communications in prehistoric days between Egypt and Greece.

Quite recently a fortunate Greek savant has discovered in the beehive tomb at Bapheion, near Spata, interesting relics of the same age, including two gold cups which are perhaps the most interesting remains of prehistoric Greece, and which are represented on page 71. We see on them woods consisting in the upper scene of palm-trees, and in the lower of trees which belong to a temperate climate. Amid these are depicted scenes from the capture of wild or half-wild bulls by hunters. These latter are lightly clad ; they wear only waistband and boots ; their long hair streams down their backs. In the upper scene two of them are overthrown by the charge of an infuriated animal ; in the lower scene one has succeeded in fastening a rope to the hind leg of a bull whose anger and alarm are clearly indicated. The contrasted attitudes of the bulls, in the upper scene certainly wild, in the lower perhaps tamed to the service of man, are rendered with remarkable vigour and skill. Together with the siege of the city on the silver vessel and the lion-hunt depicted on the sword from Mycenae, these cups give us the most vivid representation which we possess of the pursuits of the prehistoric Greeks, and their cousins on the other side of the Aegean Sea.

For light on the origin and the date of the works of art of the Mycenaean class, we must undoubtedly turn to Egypt : and it is surprising how clear light we obtain thence.



GOLD CUPS FROM BAPHEION.

Firstly, in the Mycenaean tombs and among the remains of the city have been found some articles which must have come from Egypt, such as an engraved ostrich-egg, and a tassel of Egyptian porcelain.* These were found by Schliemann. Since his excavations has been found a scarab bearing the name of the Egyptian Queen Ti.† This lady has been reasonably, though not certainly, identified as the Queen of Amenophis III. of Egypt of the fifteenth century; and in very recent excavations some pottery has been found‡ which bears the name of Amenophis himself. It is true that these names do not give us a precise date; since it was a custom, as we learn, to copy the cartouches of celebrated kings and queens on works of a later date. But at all events we may consider it proved that the remains of Mycenae are not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

And a clear proof of abundant intercourse between Egypt and Greece in the Mycenaean age is furnished by the obvious resemblance between works of Mycenaean art and those of Egypt. The sculptured pattern of the sepulchral chamber at Orchomenus is almost identical with patterns painted in Egyptian tombs. The swords representing a duck hunt§ give us a scene of a very peculiar character, which could only originate in Egypt: there were no cats in Greece, and the custom of training cats to catch birds seems to be peculiar to Egypt. The lion-hunt and the siege of the city from the Mycenaean tombs will also readily carry back the eye to Egyptian prototypes.‖

Yet notwithstanding this close relation to Egyptian art, the masterpieces of Mycenae have much in them which is non-Egyptian, and which seems to mark a native style of art. There is a freedom from convention and a vigour

* *Mycenae*, p. 241. † *Ephem. Archaiol.* 1887, p. 169.
‡ *Ephem. Archaiol.* 1891, pl. 3. § Above, p. 65.
‖ *e.g.* Perrot, *Egypte*, trans. I. 47.

about them which is unmistakeable. Some recent writer have been disposed to call them importations from Phoenicia. They cite the appearance of the palm-tree, the half-clad appearance of the men, the presence of the lion as indications pointing to Syria rather than to Greece. This view is, however, unsatisfactory. So far as we know, Phoenician art, from first to last, was singularly wanting in any sort of originality: it only combined given forms. And again, it is impossible to draw a line as regards style between works in gold and silver, which might possibly have been imported from Phoenicia, and heavy objects such as tombstones which could not be imported. It seems far more probable that in this problem we have almost to eliminate the Phoenicians, and to find only a native Greek art working largely in obedience to Egyptian teaching. If the dates which presently I hope to make probable are accepted, the culmination of the Mycenaean age would correspond with the time when the cities o Phoenicia had been plundered or destroyed by the people of the north in their march on Egypt, and when Phoenician influence was at a low ebb. Accordingly, among the Mycenaean treasures are scarcely any which can be with confidence declared to be Phoenician. The objects which have the best claim to that attribution are the gold plates which represent a naked goddess surrounded by doves, and a temple with doves perching on it; but even these may as well betray a Cyprian or a Canaanite as a Phoenician origin. The Goddess of Love and her doves were by no means peculiar to the people of Sidon and Ascalon.

On another side Mr. Petrie has pointed out * that pottery of the Mycenaean class was imported into Egypt under the eighteenth and subsequent dynasties; and the presence of it in conjunction with Egyptian antiquities which

* *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890, p. 271; 1891, p. 201.

can be dated, gives us a clue for the determination of the date of the Mycenaean civilisation. Quite recently, he has endeavoured to affix closer dates to the tombs of the Mycenaean Acropolis. He considers that their contents can be assigned almost with certainty to the period 1200–1100 B.C. But the twelfth century was, if any trust at all is to be placed in Greek tradition, the age of the culmination of the Achaean power, shortly before the irruption of the poor and comparatively barbarous Dorians from the north shattered the fabric of princely luxury, and paved the way for the rise of the city commonwealths of the historic age. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value of this date, if it may be relied on. And it certainly accords with most indications.

We can scarcely pass in silence the important evidence as to the peoples of the Levant in prehistoric days which is furnished by the wall-paintings at Medinet Abu in Egypt.* We have there in contemporary records the account of more than one battle waged by the Egyptians in B.C. 1300–1200 against the peoples of Asia Minor and the Islands, who are represented in the wall paintings as attacking the country both by sea and land.† The names given to these peoples by Egyptologists are so various, and the identifications with particular races are so uncertain that I am unwilling to repeat them. One can only venture to speak of the wall-painting of the sea-fight at Pelusium, in which the fleet of the invaders was destroyed by Rameses III., because, however the Egyptian hieroglyphics may be read, the paintings of Egyptian artists are clear and trustworthy.

In this cartoon, the northern peoples who attack Egypt are represented as sailing in ships rising at both ends with

* Rosellini, *Monumenti Storichi*, pl. 125 and foll.

† In an Appendix to *Ilios* (p. 745) Dr. Brugsch gives a detailed account of these wars.

lofty curves, whereas the ships of the Egyptians are curved only at one end, and adorned at the other with a lion's head. They are unbearded men, clad in jerkins reaching to the knee and girt in at the waist, armed with spears, short swords and round shields. One tribe of them have on their heads a lofty cap apparently made of feathers, the other tribe wear a round helmet surmounted by a crescent and ball. On other paintings of the same age both tribes appear as auxiliaries or mercenaries of the Egyptians in their wars.

It has been well remarked that the ships of these invaders recall by their form the Homeric epithets *ἀμφιέλισσα* and *κορωνίς*. But the equipment and armour of the men in no wise corresponds to that given in the Homeric poems to Greeks, Trojans and Lycians; the crested helmet, the breastplate, the greaves are alike wanting. Nor do we find here the crested helmets of the Carians. Less unlike is the arming of the warriors represented on the gems and the signets of Mycenae. If we compare the Mycenaean hero of the signet figured on p. 144 we shall see that he perhaps wears a spiked helmet and jerkin. The warrior at the bottom of the siege-scene (above, p. 66) is clad in a jerkin covering his body and legs to the thigh, and wears a conical helmet. But it must be confessed that though the equipment of the warriors of Mycenae and of those who appear at Medinet Abu is similar, it is not identical. The round shield in particular appears at Medinet Abu, and not at Mycenae.

That the Greeks in the prehistoric age entered on considerable expeditions by land and sea is shewn by the stories of Ilium and Thebes, of the Argonauts, and of Odysseus' feigned expedition from Crete to Egypt. And in fact they must have thrown out considerable colonies about B.C. 1000. It would have been very natural to

identify them among the invaders or the mercenaries of Egypt. But we can scarcely venture to do so with confidence until either Egyptologists are agreed on the subject, or until fresh monuments are discovered in the marvellous valley of the Nile, to decide our doubts. But we do not need this further evidence to enable us to trace a close connection between the Greeks of the Mycenaean age and the Egyptians.

Beside the influence of the art of Egypt on that of Mycenae we may also trace the working on it of Babylonian prototypes. Babylonian cylinders have been found in the early graves in Cyprus; and we know that in early pre-historic times the cuneiform system of writing, the worship of the Babylonic goddess Mylitta, and the forms of Babylonic sculpture slowly made their way across Asia to the coast of Asia Minor and beyond it. Egyptian influence had to pass the sea in order to reach Greece, but Babylonic influence passed from city to city and from nation to nation by the land route, and permeated western Asia in a remarkable degree. It cannot therefore surprise us to trace Babylonic influence in various remains of Mycenaean art. And we find it especially in the signets, such as that in which a lady seated under a tree receives homage from worshippers, and generally in the treatment of the male and female form. According to the legend, Belus, as well as Aegyptus, had descendants in the Argolid; and this tradition is probably based on fact.

Having thus briefly considered the problem of the Mycenaean age in Greece, let us turn to the special and less vague problems offered us by the facts of Mycenae in particular.

Certain circumstances of the burials at Mycenae seem remarkable and full of meaning. Firstly, the bodies of the dead had been buried in haste and some confusion,

in graves too small * and unduly crowded with treasures. And they had been, although preserved by some simple process of embalming, yet as we are told, partially burned. These facts indicate an entombment in haste: it is not thus that any early people would dispose of their heroic dead, especially while endowing them with so much treasure. This makes it very probable that we have to do, not with a first interment but with a re-interment; and this probability is especially strengthened by the burning added to the embalming. Then again the number of the graves was six, and it can scarcely be a mere coincidence that the beehive tombs outside the citadel were also six in number. And again, it is maintained by Dr. Schuchhardt and other writers, and in fact generally allowed, that the contents of the various tombs point not quite to the same period for their origin. The contents of the tombs numbered by Schliemann 3, 4, and 5, seem to be decidedly, if not by any long period, older than those of tombs 1, 2, and 6. And yet it is hard to suppose that the whole contents of the circle of stones were not placed where they were found on one definite occasion. Considerations such as these led me some time ago to a view which I have already suggested in the *Quarterly Review* for 1877, but which, I am bound to say, has not yet been generally accepted by savants. I conceive that on some occasion when the city of Mycenae was in danger from some invading foe, the people of the city began to fear lest the bodies and treasures of their early kings, buried in the six beehive-shaped tombs outside the walls of the citadel, should fall into hostile hands. So they may have removed

* *Mycenae*, p. 295: "The three bodies of this tomb lay with their heads to the east and their feet to the west; all three were of large proportions, and appeared to have been forcibly squeezed into the small space of only 5 ft. 6 in. which was left for them between the inner walls."

bodies and treasures alike to a spot within the walls of the Acropolis, thinking that at least within those mighty walls safety would be found. They may have dug deep into the rock, and at the bottom of the tombs have hastily erected rude pyres whereon to burn the bodies of their heroes. This burning may have been dictated by the altered custom which then prevailed as to the rites of burial. Or perhaps it may have been intended to remove the corpses yet more securely out of the reach of enemies. After the funereal fire, they may have heaped in the graves all the treasures which had before surrounded their dead. In after days they may have made an altar and erected tombstones over the various graves. This hypothesis would account for many circumstances. It would explain the dismantled and empty condition of the underground treasuries. That these have not been entered and pillaged within historical times is certain, for Dr. Schliemann found the *dromos* or entrance to the one which he searched full of archaic pottery, and the earth there quite undisturbed. Yet the treasury itself was empty. It would account for the number of the bodies buried at one time and the mass of wealth which lay about them. It is indeed open to one objection, that the bodies of the kings would, unless embalmed, have passed in the course of a century or two into such a condition as would prevent their being removed to a new tomb. We would, however, suggest that some circumstances seem to point to a certain decay in the bodies before they were buried in the agora. This is suggested by their cramped position, and the fact carefully noted by Dr. Schliemann, that in the case of a male body the golden shoulder-belt "was not in its place, for it now lay across the loins of the body, and extended in a straight line far to the right of it." It is further exceedingly likely that the early Mycenaeans partly embalmed the bodies of their dead princes. The gold masks on their faces remind

us in a striking manner of the gilded faces of the Egyptian mummies, and suggest that among other Egyptian customs, which penetrated into Greece at an early epoch, the dressing of the dead with spices may have held a place.

As to the circle of stones which surrounded the spot, that is at a higher level, and in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion of a later date than the graves. It is patent to everyone who looks at the plan of Mycenae that this circle cannot have been made while the Acropolis was in use as a dwelling-place. It entirely blocks the way to the great Lion-gate which was the principal entrance to the citadel; and its only opening lies towards that gate. It seems then perfectly clear that it must be the work not of the early people of Mycenae, but of their conquerors, probably of the Dorian invaders. Wishing to abolish Mycenae as a fortified place, but at the same time to avoid offence to the godlike heroes who had made the place celebrated, the new comers must have formed a sacred circle just within the gate, and accessible only through it, and ordained that the rest of the site should lie waste in honour of the indwelling heroes. And waste it seems to have lain for a long time, until the erection on the summit of a Doric temple, of which, as we have seen, traces have been found. In the time of the Persian wars it seems to have recovered a few inhabitants.

This view we hold to be the most probable; but we cannot maintain that it meets all the difficulties of the case. For example, what can Pausanias have seen, when the tombs of the companions of Agamemnon were shewn him? He cannot have seen the tombstones known to us, since they were buried under some twenty feet of soil. And of any chapels or memorials on the surface there is no trace. Some will be prepared with the ready solution that Pausanias was never at Mycenae at all, but merely copied from old guide-books. This solution, however, does not help us at all, since the authority copied by Pausanias can no

more have seen the buried tombstones than can he himself. And besides, no part of Pausanias' work bears more satisfactory evidence of autopsy than does the book which treats of Mycenae. Dr. Schuchhardt thinks that some later graves may have been pointed out to Pausanias as those of the Homeric heroes; and of course this is possible. Nevertheless it seems more reasonable, in view of the results of excavation, to think that tradition handed down even to the Antonine age knowledge of the spot where lay the bodies of the heroic monarchs of Mycenae, however such spot may have been at the time marked out.

The theory above advanced is also untenable if the view, which must be called the generally received one, of the later date of the beehive tombs than of the deep graves be accepted. This view, however, can scarcely claim to be established. It is no doubt true that some objects found in some of the beehive tombs, such as those at Nauplia and Menidi, appear to belong to the latest period of the Mycenaean culture; while the deep graves represent a somewhat earlier stage. But we do not know that all these beehive tombs were of the same age. Those of Orchomenus and Bapheion seem to belong to an earlier date than some of the others: Mr. Petrie argues that the objects from Bapheion are earlier in character than the Mycenaean finds. And there appears to be no reason why the beehive tombs of Mycenae should belong to a later age than those of Orchomenus and Bapheion. We have moreover argued above that the beehive tombs of Mycenae are of the same age as the city walls; and these walls can scarcely be of later construction than the graves dug within them.

In approaching the question as to the historical place of the kings in the Mycenaean graves, we undoubtedly reach the most difficult part of our subject.

Let us first consider the indications, neither few nor

slight, of a connection between the Mycenaean remains and the Phrygians of the coast of Asia Minor. First we come to the Lion-gate. Already in 1842 Ainsworth observed the close likeness between these rampant lions facing one another on each side of a pillar and the relief groups of Phrygian tombs. Since the discovery of the great lions at Ayazinn* this analogy has become still more striking, although a difference in style is evident. The curious heraldic scheme of the group is of course no Phrygian invention, but may be traced back to the art of Cappadocia and of Babylon ; yet we may fairly say that at present the nearest analogy to the lions of Mycenae is to be found in those of Phrygia. It has further been observed that the capital of the pillar which divides the lions is clearly a copy in stone of the ends of round beams, and this translation into stone of wooden architectural features is precisely one of the most clearly marked characteristics of the art of Phrygia no less than of that of Lycia.

The beehive tombs found at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece were certainly in ancient times regarded as of Phrygian origin. Athenaeus records the tradition that they were the graves of the followers of Pelops. And Vitruvius states that the Phrygians in Asia were compelled by want of wood for huts to dig into natural mounds, and so hollow out for themselves a dwelling-place. Of course the form of the tomb would among them, as among all peoples, follow that of the dwelling. And although we now know that the tombs in inland Phrygia were merely hollowed out of the rock, we yet find nearer the coast tumuli with inner chambers which may well have been prototypes of the Greek "treasuries." There is the great mound which is connected with the name of Tantalus near Smyrna, and that connected with Alyattes in Lydia. And further south, in Caria, Mr. Paton† has excavated some remarkable

* *Journ. Hell. Stud.* pl. 17, 18, &c. † *Ib.* vol. viii. pp. 67, 80.

tombs built of stone under an artificial mound which are in construction very similar to the "treasury of Atreus." It is true that this method of burying the dead was not confined to Phrygia, nor even to Asia Minor, but it seems to be in Greece of foreign origin.

The quantity of the gold in the graves at Mycenae and the patterns with which it is adorned alike seem naturally to lead us to the district at the foot of Sipylus. The Pactolus and other rivers near it were full of gold dust, and generation after generation those who possessed that corner of Asia possessed gold without limit down to the time of Croesus. Greece proper, on the other hand, produced in historic times little or no gold. It may be said that in all countries there is surface-gold, which the first strong race of inhabitants exhausts once for all: and this is true; yet it seems scarcely likely that there would be surface-gold in Greece as late as the twelfth century. So the probability of a Phrygian origin of the gold found at Mycenae must stand for something, though it is not a certainty. The likeness too of the patterns at Mycenae to those on the tombs of the kings of Phrygia is striking: it was observed by Leake, that the pattern on the Midas tomb was like those on the entrance to the treasury of Atreus, and the same likeness certainly holds in regard to the gold ornaments of the Mycenaean tombs.

To these archaeological indications we might add others drawn from other sources. For instance, the ancients regarded the dance *cordax* as imported into Greece from Phrygia by Pelops. And there is a striking likeness between the name of Atreus and that of Otreus the Phrygian king mentioned in the *Iliad*, as well as of the city of Otrus. But we must not insist on points like these, or run the risk of adding fanciful arguments to those of undoubted value.

Let us compare these results, the evidence of which is

derived from observation and excavation, with the legends accepted by Thucydides. Thucydides says that before the Dorian conquest, the date of which is traditionally fixed at B.C. 1104, Mycenae was the city whence ruled a wealthy race of kings. Archaeology produces the bodies of kings ruling at Mycenae about the twelfth century and spreads their wealth under our eyes. Thucydides says that this wealth was brought in the form of gold from Phrygia by the founder of the line, Pelops. Archaeology tells us that the gold found at Mycenae may very probably have come from the opposite coast of Asia Minor which abounded in gold ; and further that the patterns impressed on the gold work at Mycenae bear a very marked resemblance to the decorative patterns found on graves in Phrygia. Thucydides tells us that though Mycenae was small, yet its rulers had the hegemony over a great part of Greece. Archaeology shews us that the kings of Mycenae were wealthy and important quite out of proportion to the small city which they ruled, and that the civilisation which centred at Mycenae spread over south Greece and the Aegean, and lasted for some centuries at least.

It seems to me that the simplest way of meeting the facts of the case is to suppose that we have recovered at Mycenae the graves of the Pelopid race of monarchs. It will not of course do to go too far. The number and sex of the corpses found in the tombs cannot be made to correspond with the enumeration of Pausanias, and this is sufficient to warn us not to regard the local legend which he reports as embodying actual sober fact. It would be too much to suppose that we have recovered the bodies of the Agamemnon who seems in the *Iliad* to be as familiar to us as Caesar or Alexander, or of his father Atreus, or of his charioteer and the rest. We cannot of course prove the *Iliad* to be history ; and if we could, the world would be poorer than before. But we can insist

upon it that the legends of heroic Greece have more of the historic element in them than anyone supposed a few years ago. And as science is always progressive we may hope by degrees to distil more and more history from these legends. At present, in speaking of the Pelopid kings, we use an ethnologic and geographic, rather than a historic, phrase; we merely indicate a race probably derived from Asia Minor, or at all events thence deriving its civilisation. We do not mean to guarantee names or details of history.

I have dwelt, perhaps, quite enough on the Phrygian element in the civilisation of Mycenae, since after all any influence exercised by Phrygia on Hellas at this time would be artistic rather than national. The true Phrygians were, as has been above maintained, closely akin to the Greeks, quite as closely akin as the Macedonians of a later time. And if the kings of Mycenae, with their immediate followers, were of Phrygian extraction, that fact would by no means put them outside the line of Hellenic development. Agamemnon would be as truly Greek as George III. was English. With Homer the Pelopid kings have nothing at all foreign about them, so that Grote has maintained that the Lydian origin of Pelops was a post-Homeric invention. But there is in the *Iliad* nothing more remarkable than its omissions; and it is never safe to insist upon them as evidence. All that it seems fair to say is that had the Greeks of Homer's time thought of the Pelopidae as an utterly foreign dynasty we should have found some trace of this feeling in the *Iliad.*

Assuming then that we may fairly class the Pelopidae as Achaean, and may regard the remains at Mycenae as characteristic of the Achaean civilisation of Greece, is it possible to trace with bolder hand the history of Achaean Greece? Certainly we gain assistance in our endeavour to realize what the pre-Dorian state of Peloponnesus was

like. We secure a hold upon history which is thoroughly objective, while all the history which before existed was so vague and imaginative that the clear mind of Grote refused to rely upon it at all. But precise dates are more than we can venture to lay down, in the present condition of our knowledge.

The Achaean civilisation was contemporary with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty* (B.C. 1700–1400).† It lasted during the invasions of Egypt from the north (1300–1100). When it ceased we cannot say with certainty. There is every historical probability that it was brought to a violent end in the Dorian invasion. The traditional date of that invasion is B.C. 1104. But it is obvious that this date cannot be relied upon. And it is probable, almost to certainty, that the Dorian invasion would be, like the Saxon conquest of England, a slow and gradual process. We cannot tell how long it lasted, the dynastic lists of the kings of this age having small authority. We must suppose that district after district succumbed to the invaders. When Argolis, the centre of Greek civilization at the time, fell into their hands must remain doubtful. At any rate, great changes must have taken place, and a considerable space of time must have elapsed, before the beginnings of historic Greece. The doings of kings and peoples during these centuries have perished. The phases of art only are known to us. Of these phases I shall speak in more detail in a future chapter.‡ The Mycenaean art seems to have decayed, in some districts faster than in others, and to have given

* Besides the proofs of this already mentioned (p. 72) it should be stated that an inlaid bronze dagger and other articles resembling those found at Mycenae have made their appearance in the tomb of a queen of the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt.

† I take these dates from the British Museum *Guide* (1890), p. 40 and foll.

‡ See below, pp. 123–129.

way by degrees to an art which is essentially geometrical, like the art of Hallstadt and of Scandinavia. But we are not of course in a position to say that wherever we find the art of Mycenae we must suppose an Achaean population, since the invading Dorians may easily have copied the works of art of those they conquered, just as the Saxons in Britain copied works of Celtic art. Only, speaking roughly, it is fair to say that the Mycenaean art is of Achaean, and the succeeding geometric art of Dorian origin. Olympia, which only rose into importance under the Dorians, shows in its lowest and earliest levels the art which succeeded the Mycenaean.

We must, however, before proceeding, consider a rival view, which has been put forward on good authority as an alternative to that which asserts the Achaean origin of the Mycenaean remains, the view advocated by Köhler, Dümmler and Studniczka, that they are Carian. This view was suggested by the statement of Thucydides,* that the Carians had extensive possessions in the Greek islands in days before the Trojan war; and that when the Island of Delos was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War, and the bodies which had been buried there removed, most of them were found to be Carian, being identified by the fashion of their weapons and of their burial. This very passage of Thucydides, however, seems to offer the strongest proof that the interments at Mycenae were not Carian, if we compare it with one of Herodotus.† Herodotus says that the Carians were a warlike race, and noted as the authors of three inventions, which the Greeks borrowed from them, the crests of helmets, the devices and handles of shields. But the heroes of Mycenae were quite clearly not warlike. In their tombs were found no helmets; and if there were traces of any shields, which is doubtful, these were made,

* I. 8. † I. 171.

not of metal but of wood or leather, without handles. The mention of handles implies the use by the Carians of small round metal shields: at Mycenae only the large scutum suspended by a strap from the neck was in use. We may thus safely say that, little as we know about the Carians, we do know that their interments could not be like those at Mycenae.

And the arguments which Dr. Dümmler brings forward * as fatal to the Achaean theory are really of small weight, compared to those which accumulated on the other side. The Carian theory is almost as untenable from the historical point of view as are the Gallic and the Gothic theories from the archaeological point of view.† For we have no reason at all to assume lasting and wide-spread settlements of Carians in Greece Proper.

At any rate, it seems impossible to bring down either the treasures or the fortifications of Mycenae to a later age than the year B.C. 1000, say to the date of the Dorian kings of Argos and the threshold of Greek history. It is not reasonable to suppose that Dorian kings of Argos would have fortified the rival Mycenae. If we regard the

* *Athen. Mittheil.* xii. He argues (1) that the tombs must date from the 15th century, which is too early for a flourishing Achaean kingdom. But the true date, as we have seen above, is the 12th century not the 15th. (2) That we have small trace of Mycenaean civilisation in Asia Minor among the Achaean colonists. But this negative argument is valueless until more serious excavations are carried on in Asia Minor. (3) That Homer speaks of burning the dead, while at Mycenae they were buried. There are perhaps traces of burning at Mycenae, but if not, we know that at various periods of Greek history the two ways of disposing of the dead existed side by side; and so probably they did in the Homeric age. (4) That no fibulae were found at Mycenae, which implies Asiatic dress rather than that implied in the Homeric poems. But more recent excavations at Mycenae, and particularly in graves of the Mycenaean age in Cyprus, have brought fibulae to light.

† How untenable these last views are, I have tried to show in a paper in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

contents of the tombs, it seems quite out of the question to attribute the wealth and luxury which they display to the poor and hardy Dorians: and there is no evidence that tombs and walls belong to different ages: the circumstances of the case render this most unlikely. At present therefore the Achaean theory decidedly holds the field.

The painted pottery found in and around the tombs at Mycenae has been the subject of careful investigation by Messrs. Furtwängler and Löschcke, and has led those savants to interesting results. For it appears that vases of the same class, now known to archaeologists as Mycenaean, are found in Boeotia, Attica, Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Carpathos, and elsewhere. Certain classes of them are supposed to have been made in Argolis only; other classes in many parts of the Aegean. They seem to be the outward and visible sign of a civilisation, of which the roots lay in Argolis, but the branches spread over the south of Greece and across the islands of the Asiatic coast. Vases of the same kind have been found in Egypt,* no doubt having been carried thither as merchandise, or as tribute from the Greek islands. And in graves which contain this pottery we find also bronze work adorned with the Mycenaean patterns, and poor jewelry, including occasionally fibulae for fastening the dress.

And this "Mycenaean" civilisation in the islands and in Cyprus seems to succeed to a lower stage of culture which also we can trace in the grave-yards.† At this earlier stage, the people of the islands seem to have used as weapons bronze spears and daggers, but the long swords which are so characteristic a feature of the Mycenaean remains are entirely wanting. Their pottery, in opposition to the more beautiful Mycenaean ware, with its elegant

* Cf. Petrie in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vols. x. xi.

† Dümmler in *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 1886, p. 15.

forms, and its decoration of skilfully adapted natural forms, is rude, often not even made on the potter's wheel, adorned with moulded patterns or with the roughest painted devices. Idols also occur; rude imitations in alabaster of the naked human form, so primitive as scarcely to have style, and to leave us uncertain whether they are meant to portray gods or men. Some of the objects mixed with these primitive wares seem however to indicate commerce; ivory for example must have come originally from Africa, and a few Babylonian cylinders seem to prove that even the distant Empire of Babylon threw out rays of civilisation beyond the confines of Asia.

It is impossible here to describe in detail these antiquities, so as to make them intelligible. It is certain that they open to us interesting historical vistas; and we may hope some day to speak of the fruit which they bring to the prehistoric record of Greece with confidence. But there is a great impediment in the way, which has as yet continually turned historians and archaeologists into paths which are unsafe. This is the fact that it is always unsafe to argue from a likeness or difference in art-work to identity or difference of race. Even on language it is very unsafe to base ethnological arguments: still more unsafe is it to base ethnological arguments on custom. For example, one might suppose that among primitive races style of dress was a fair index of race; yet Herodotus says—and the monuments prove him to be right—that the Athenians in the course of two or three centuries changed their women's dress from the Doric to the Ionic, and back again. The custom of treating the dead, whether burning or burying, might also seem a safe racial characteristic. But we know that both customs prevailed together at many periods of history, the rich being usually burned and the poor buried. Still more uncertain are indications drawn from style in metal-work or pottery, for in such

matters the less civilised race is almost sure to copy the more civilised. Thus the spread of a kind of remains found in tombs may not imply a change of race, nor a conquest by a more civilised over a less civilised community, but may result merely from a change in the direction of commerce, or in the taste of a people.

Dr. Dümmler is disposed to see in the earlier Island-civilisation that of the Leleges, and in the later (Mycenaean) that of the Carians, who probably conquered and made them tributary. But since, as we have shewn, there is no reason for connecting the civilisation of Mycenae with the Carians, we are naturally tempted to draw from the facts quite a different inference, and to discern in the spread of Mycenaean style in art the growing political power of the Achaean kings of Mycenae. We know that according to tradition Agamemnon ruled the isles as well as Argos, and Thucydides' theory that the King of Mycenae was the head of a considerable naval force is very plausible indeed. But though we can thus reach probabilities we cannot reach certainties, and it is better not to treat as established views which may hereafter be shewn to be unsound. What archaeology makes clear is that Argolis was in the twelfth century ruled by a wealthy and powerful native race, closely connected with Asia Minor, and much influenced by the art of Egypt.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PALACE AT TIRYNS.

THE excavations carried on by Schliemann, with the help of Dr. Dörpfeld, at Tiryns during the years 1884–5, have an interest which is mainly architectural. The pottery, terra-cottas and implements found in the ancient Acropolis are in the lower and earlier strata like those of Hissarlik, while at the upper strata they closely resemble the objects found in Mycenae, objects which have been already discussed in these pages. We propose, therefore, to devote most of the present chapter to an attempt to explain what additions to our knowledge of the city-walls, the palaces, and the graves of primitive Greece have resulted from the excavations at Tiryns.

Travellers who have been in Greece, and such are now no longer rare, must be forgetful indeed if they fail to remember the aspect of the lovely plain of Argolis, as one approaches it from the sea, a triangle, whereof lofty mountains shut in two sides, while the third is bounded by the blue, still, transparent waters of the Aegean. It is hard to say whether the scene is more beautiful when the rising sun throws the hard shadow of mountain on mountain, or when the peaks towards evening change colour almost as rapidly as do the clouds of a northern sky. Dr. Schliemann writes of it: "I mentally recall the ascending peaks of the Himalayas, the luxuriance of the tropical world on the islands of Sunda and the Antilles; or, again, I turn to the view from the great Chinese wall, to the glorious valleys of

Japan, to the far-famed Yo-Semite Valley in California, or the high peaks of the great Cordilleras, and I confess that the prospect from the citadel of Tiryns far exceeds all of natural beauty which I have elsewhere seen." This beautiful plain contains the sites of three famous cities. They cannot all have flourished together, and we know that the supremacy belonged to various of them at different times. Mycenae, placed at the head of the plain, is a great mountain fastness, fit for a stronghold in unquiet days, when the seas were full of pirates, and a city nearer to the sea ran a risk of sudden sack by them. In more quiet times Argos, which naturally dominates the centre of the plain, would secure the primacy in virtue of its more convenient site and richer territory, and would, as in fact it did, establish a port on the sea, whence it could communicate with the outer world, Nauplia, the natural gate of the valley, but never its ruler. The stronghold of Tiryns is about three miles from the sea. The site was fitted for the seat of a powerful family, who wished to preserve communication with both sea and land, but it was not adapted for a large population. It was not large in area, to begin with, and possessed neither the grasp of the land obtained by Argos, nor the hold on the sea which made the fortune of Nauplia. Hence it was destined to fade away with the growth of great cities, population, and trade, which began in so marked a manner in the ninth and eighth centuries in Greece; and its bloom was past when Sparta had scarcely eclipsed its neighbour Amyclae, and Athens was disputing with Megara the possession of Salamis.

The huge walls of Tiryns are pointed out to every traveller. Their massiveness of construction surprises the visitor, as it surprised Pausanias in the time of Hadrian, and drew from him the somewhat exaggerated statement, that the stones of which they are built are so huge that the

smallest of them could not be moved by a yoke of mules. And from the visit of Pausanias onwards travellers have been content to gaze on the huge ramparts as a nine-days' wonder, and to pass on. The spade of Dr. Schliemann has changed all this. The walls are to the mere traveller as stupendous as ever, but to the archaeologist they have become eloquent. Their plan and details are laid bare, and they tell us many a fact as to the architecture and the manners of a race who lived in Greece in godlike splendour in the luxurious Achaean days, before the Dorian invasion burst on Peloponnesus. They justify us in believing that, noble as are the Homeric poems, they are the echo of a state of society worthy to give them birth; and they help to explain to us why the Greeks of historical times regarded their ancestors as a race of heroes and demigods.

The massive walls of Tiryns enclose the ridge of a long and narrow hill, higher at one end than the other. The city was thus a lengthy oblong, and it may be divided by trisecting its length into three parts, parts which may be called the Upper, Middle, and Lower Fortress. It is the highest part of the hill only, the site of the Upper Fortress, which has as yet been fully excavated. Much yet remains to be ascertained; for there is no doubt that the remains of buildings will be found also on the lower parts of the ridge. Yet the excavations have already brought to light facts so important that it is not necessary to wait for the account of the whole site before commenting on the data already before us. It seems almost certain that future excavations, though they may add to our knowledge of the history of Tiryns, will not in any way invalidate the conclusions drawn from the excavations with great skill by the architects whom Dr. Schliemann had the good fortune to associate with himself in the work of discovery on the site.

As to the history of Tiryns, only two or three statements

have come down to us from antiquity, and it is a curious fact that most of these are called in question by Dr. Schliemann, whom we should have supposed to be the last man likely to fall a victim to too great historical scepticism. In some cases he has, in our opinion, needlessly attacked tradition. The first statement is that the walls of the city were built for King Proetus by Cyclopean builders, who were natives of Lycia. This is a matter which we shall be compelled hereafter more fully to discuss. The second statement is the assertion of Diodorus and Pausanias, that the destruction of Tiryns was brought about by the Argives after the Persian wars, and was partly caused by the jealousy of the Argives because Mycenae and Tiryns had furnished men to the Greek armies at Thermopylae and Plataea, whereas they themselves had not. Professor Mahaffy has thrown doubt on this assertion, maintaining on the other hand that the ruin of Mycenae and Tiryns took place much earlier, and Schliemann declares that his theory is borne out by the evidence of the excavations.

Of course if it could be proved from archaeological evidence that Mycenae and Tiryns were entirely ruined long before the Persian wars, we should then be compelled to correct Pausanias; but this is not the case. Even if no remains belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries had come to light in the upper part of the citadel, they might still remain underground in the lower part of the citadel which has not yet been explored. But as a matter of fact, a Doric capital has been already found at Tiryns, which is given by Mr. Fergusson to about B.C. 600. This capital is in itself an indication that Tiryns, though like Mycenae greatly reduced in the Dorian invasion, still survived in the sixth century; and so strongly confirms the testimony of Pausanias.

Having thus cleared the ground, we shall venture with bolder hand to sketch out the great periods of Tirynthian

history as revealed to us in the remains which have come to light.

Schliemann and Dörpfeld are agreed that the great walls of Tiryns do not belong to the earliest settlement which we can discover. In certain parts of the Acropolis quantities of pottery were found which resembled that very early kind of ware which was discovered in the primitive strata at Hissarlik, and which is familar to many people in London in consequence of the exhibition of much of it some years ago in the South Kensington Museum. This must be assigned to a very remote antiquity indeed, to days when the Acropolis of Tiryns was a mere place of security for a few fishermen who dwelt in rocky caves at the spot where Nauplia now stands; to days before the Phoenicians had established their commerce among the islands and coasts of Greece, and before Greece had developed any of those activities which form the starting-point for European history. A few traces of floors and foundations belonging to this pre-historic, and in fact pre-traditional city, have been found; but they are of small importance. It is with the building of the massive walls and with the planning of the noble palaces of Tiryns, with that foundation which Greek tradition has connected with the name of the mythical King Proetus, that the interest of Tirynthian history begins.

"Of Tirynthian history" we say, but the very phrase warns us that we must guard against misunderstanding. For the history of Tiryns, all the history we shall ever know, is archaeological. In old days history was regarded as the chronicle of the doings of a few great men, their successions, their enterprises, their victories and failures. Historians found little worth recording but the spread of empires, the results of battles, the founding of states. But archaeology does not take the same view of history as did the historians. Far from recording only wars, she has by

far the most to say about peace and the manners and customs of times of quiet. Far from telling us of government and the deeds of heroes, she tells us rather facts about the external life of men, of the houses in which they lived, the weapons they used, what deities they adored, and in what light they regarded the life beyond the grave. From the outward facts revealed by spade and pick we are enabled to judge of the degree of civilisation attained by a nation, of its commerce and its art, perhaps of its ethnical affinities, but only rarely of its laws or government, or of its moral and intellectual condition.

Yet the chapter with which the archaeological history of Tiryns begins is startling enough. We find that at a period which we are enabled by an accumulation of evidence to fix to the twelfth or the eleventh century before our era, the whole of the upper citadel of Tiryns was occupied by the splendid palace of a wealthy line of kings, who seem to show in the details of their luxurious abode, and in the massiveness of the great walls with which they surrounded it, the possession of wealth and splendour far beyond those belonging to any Greeks of earlier historical times. The colossal size of the stones they used in building, which actually in one case at least reach a weight of twenty tons, combined with the fact that the mechanical appliances of those remote days were extremely simple, proves that they must have disposed in the most absolute fashion of the labour of countless dependants. The number of the rooms in the palace, with the splendid porticoes and courts by which it was approached, testifies to the stateliness of their public life. The bath-room, carefully adapted for the purposes of washing, and the drains made to carry away superfluous water, show the luxuriousness of their personal habits. And the way in which the rooms of men and of women are set apart affords

us a curious problem as to the position of the husband in regard to the wife.

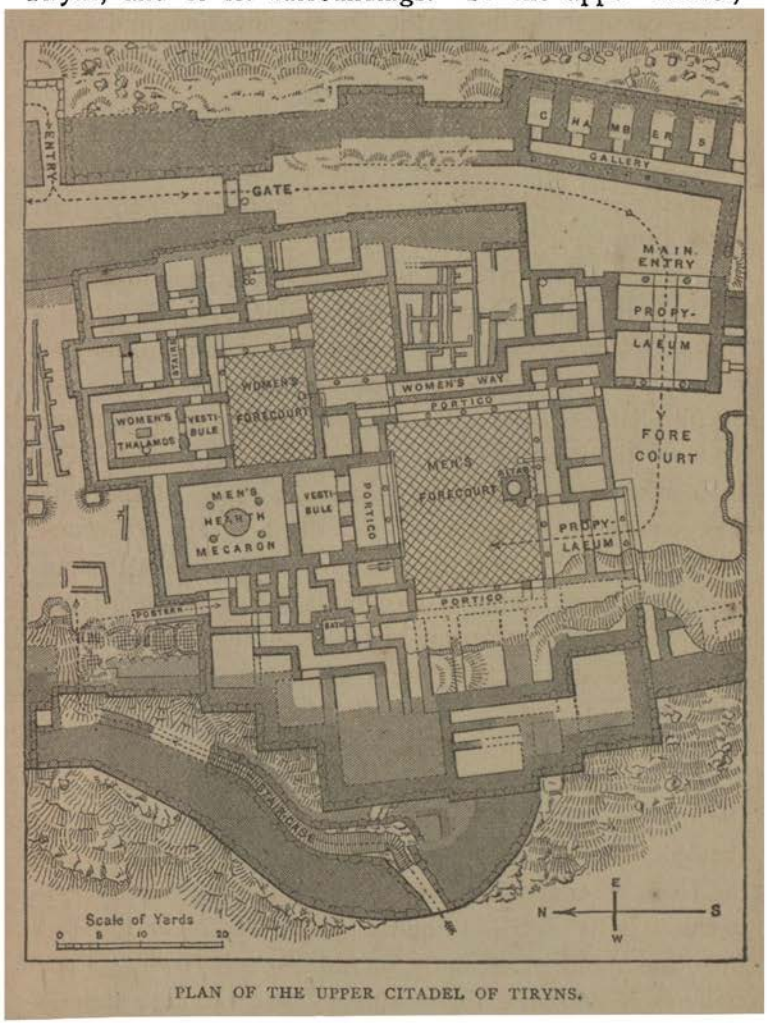
A moment's reflection will show us that the thing which is really by far the most surprising in all this is the fact that the site is in Greece proper. If in the lands of Phrygia or Lycia, or among the hills of Etruria, we had found the same proofs of the ancient existence of wealthy and powerful and civilised nobles, we should have been far less surprised. We should expect the Mermnadae of Lydia, or the Phrygian princes of the line of Midas, to live in this royal fashion. But we are accustomed to think of Greece as a land of political communities, of little self-governing states with agora, and harbour, and senate-house, and with an acropolis covered not with a palace, but with the temples of the gods. Such is the Greece of history. But utterly different was pre-historic Greece. There is a broad line dividing mythical from political Hellas, a line which seems to coincide with the great break made in the continuity of Hellas by the Dorian invasion. On the older side of that line we see the castles of magnificent princes standing amid the huts of their dependants, but no trade, no high art, curiously enough, no temples of the gods, though rude images of them. On the more recent side of the line we see vigorous communities, choosing their own governments, carrying on trade with all parts of the Mediterranean and Euxine, and planting colonies on all shores, full of the highest artistic feelings, and building on the heights where the royal castles had stood those magnificent temples to Apollo and Athene, Zeus and Poseidon, which were the centres of all the higher life of Hellas, so long as Hellas lived. But the tendency to revert to an original type is as strong in nations as in breeds of animals. So in Greek history we find constant instances of reversion towards the early organisation in the rise of those tyrannies which were a

poor and feeble imitation of the splendour of monarchy. The Greece which we know and love, the Greece of art and song, of religion and philosophy, of conquest and trade, came to birth at the Dorian invasion, and is, in great part at least, the child of the Dorian genius and loftiness of character.

Just such a contrast as exists between prehistoric and historic Hellas, exists also in Greek literature between Homer and the later poets. The Homeric poetry may have been reduced to form after the splendour of the Ionian and Achaean chiefs had passed away; but it breathes all the spirit of their sway. With Homer, too, the chief is the only man worthy of a thought, the common herd are fit only to be slain by him in the field of battle, or dragged by him into slavery. To Homer also cunning works of art show the influence of Cyprus, Phoenicia, and the East. Homer knows comparatively little of temples of the gods. The courts and the camps described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are rather akin to those of Lydians or Etruscans than of historic Greeks. We must, however, guard ourselves from misunderstanding. In using the name of Homer, we do not of course assert that the Homeric poems had a single author. But we do assert the antiquity of those poems. Homer reflects the pre-historic age of Greece as truly as does Herodotus the Greece of the Persian wars, or Pausanias the Greece of the age of the Antonines. We shall therefore make no excuse for using the Homeric text when we find in it anything which seems to throw light on the antiquities discovered on early Greek sites, and more particularly on the site of Tiryns. Especially is it desirable to set side by side Homer's descriptions of palaces like those of Alcinous and Odysseus, and the palace of which the remains still exist at Tiryns.

The plan which accompanies this paper, a reduction of that at p. 309 of Schliemann's *Tiryns*, will enable readers

easily to understand the plan and arrangements of the palace of which the foundations have been unearthed at Tiryns, and of its surroundings. To the upper citadel,



PLAN OF THE UPPER CITADEL OF TIRYNS.

almost the whole space of which it occupies, access could be had by two means only. The main entrance through the outer wall was at the north-east corner, to which a gradual ascent from the lower ground led up. Entering

by this way and turning sharply to the left, the visitor would pass along a narrow passage between the outer wall of the palace and the wall of the citadel, and through a mighty gate, of which the socket is in its place to this day. We mark on our plan, by a dotted line, the route by which we intend to lead our readers. Passing through the gate, which probably in plan and construction resembled the well-known Lion-gate of Mycenae, our traveller would continue his way between the mighty walls, liable if he came with hostile intent to be slain by many weapons, even after thus obtaining an entrance, by the guard stationed on the citadel wall or the roof of the palace. At length he would reach the main entry. Students of Greek architecture have long been familiar with the fact that the entry to Greek sacred areas, such as the Acropolis of Athens and the domain of Demeter at Eleusis, were entered through a noble propylaeum, of which the form is constant and fixed. The Greek propylaeum consists of two porches set back to back, whereof one looks outward towards the outer world, the other inward towards the enclosure. At the common back of the two porches runs a solid wall with great gates. The construction combines, as do most Greek contrivances, great beauty with great convenience, since the two porches offered a pleasing shelter to those waiting for the doors to open, whether they wished to go out or in. Such is the fixed Greek custom, but it is not a little surprising to find a propylaeum of precisely this kind guarding the entry to the upper Acropolis of Tiryns. This fact by itself seems to carry back the history of Greek architecture some centuries. Of course, though the essential idea is the same in the pre-historic as in the historic Greek doorway, the details differ. We should be disappointed if we sought at Tiryns the marble pillars, the sculptured friezes, the stone roofs which were features of such propylaea as those of Pericles. At Tiryns there were

pillars indeed, but they were of wood, let into limestone bases: and the roof instead of being of slabs of stone or tiles, was almost certainly made of rushes covered with clay, after the fashion still usual in the East; but while materials change, form persists, the idea takes a new expression, but does not itself change.

Through the propylaeum we pass into a large court or open space, round the sides of which are buildings used no doubt as barracks for the guards, and store-houses for provisions. But we shall direct our steps still westwards and pass through another propylaeum of smaller size but similar construction, which leads direct into the forecourt of the men's apartments which corresponds to the *αὐλή* of Homer. Afterwards we shall return to the outer propylaeum and make our way to the women's apartments, which are at Tiryns kept studiously apart from those of the men.

The men's forecourt is a space of some sixty-eight by fifty-two feet. It is carefully paved with a concrete of lime and pebbles, and full provision is made for its drainage by the slope of the paving to a sink at one corner. It is on all four sides surrounded by porticoes, affording cool and pleasant retreats from the power of the sun. At one side of the court is a square construction of peculiar interest, an altar with a hollow pit in the midst of it for the reception of the blood of victims.

Those familiar with the Homeric poems will scarcely read these few dry lines of description without recalling to mind many a passage in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which the new discovery sets in fresh light, or which clothes with life and reality the skeleton of the new discovery. We remember many facts about the *αὐλή* of the palace of Odysseus; but they at once show us a difference between his abode and that of the rulers of Tiryns: the Ithacan palace was rude and rustic, and a far less splendid abode

than that of which we can now trace the plan. When Eumaeus brings his pigs for the feasting of the suitors he lets them feed in the forecourt; and cattle are tethered under the porticoes, while slave-women do their grinding of meal in the sheds round. Odysseus' house is, in fact, the abode of a gentleman-farmer; the palace of Tiryns is more like the glorious abode of Alcinous in Phaeacian fairy-land, or the splendid house of Menelaus, which glittered like the sun and moon as one drew near to it. Yet the difference in this matter is one of scale and of splendour, rather than of plan. Telemachus, we learn, had a bed-chamber in the forecourt, so had Phoenix: such rooms we see at once were in the porticoes which enclosed it. The forecourt of Odysseus contained a great altar of Zeus Herceius, "whereon Laertes and Odysseus had burned many thighs of oxen." So, too, the aged Peleus burned in his forecourt the thighs of an ox in honour of thunder-loving Zeus. This seems to justify us in identifying the altar at Tiryns as that of Zeus. Only one puzzle which has long baffled the Homeric commentators remains a puzzle. In the forecourt at Ithaca was a *θόλος*, a circular building of uncertain use; and as there is no trace of any such building in the court at Tiryns, its purpose must remain a mystery for the present.

Homer's heroes when they go to a house always cross the court and enter into the *μέγαρον*, or great hall of the men, through a portico, the echoing *αἴθουσα* of which the poet often speaks. We must do exactly the same at Tiryns, as the plan will show at a glance. The portico which we now approach is the frontage of the most important part of the whole palace, shown to be so to an architect by its occupying the very highest part of the citadel, and by its governing the orientation of all the parts about it. Though only the foundations of the wall remain, to the height of a yard from the ground, yet the

patient induction of Dr. Dörpfeld has enabled him to recover many of the details of its construction. Its elevation is that called in the case of temples *in antis;* that is, it has a wall on three sides, while on the fourth side, that which faces the court, the place of a wall is taken by a couple of columns which supports an architrave and a roof. The *antae,* or foremost parts of the side-walls, exhibit sufficient remains in dowel-holes and the like to assure us that the walls of the portico were covered by a thick panelling of wood, a panelling probably covered in turn, if we may trust the analogy of some of the buildings at Mycenae and the Homeric testimony, with plates of bronze, which may well indeed have glittered like the sun and like the moon.

In the back wall of this portico were three doors, each provided with a stone sill (every one will remember Homer's λάϊνος οὐδός), leading into a sort of vestibule, from which a door again led into the main hall or megaron. It would seem that this vestibule was a feature only of very spacious or splendid houses: and we have reasons for thinking that usually the portico opened immediately into the main hall. Into this latter, therefore, we will proceed. It is a room of fine proportions, some forty feet by thirty-two in size, and we can still trace the foundations of the two rows of columns by which it was divided into three oblong sections. In the midst of the room is a round foundation, which indicates, almost beyond doubt, the place where was situate that hearth which was the centre alike of the Greek house and of the Greek religion, at least in early and patriarchal days. The floor was paved with good concrete in which a simple pattern of crossing lines was introduced for variety. For the four pillars which stand round the hearth we can cite a Homeric analogy. When Nausicaa in the sixth book of the *Odyssey* is directing Odysseus to her father's hall, she says "When

thou art within the shadow of the house and the forecourt, pass quickly through the hall, till thou reachest my mother, who sits by the hearth in the firelight weaving a purple web, a wonder to see. She rests against a pillar, and behind her sit her maids." The hint afforded by the Tirynthian palace makes it clear to us where would be the seat of Arete.

Such are the bare facts observable on the floor of the hall, but an architect like Dr. Dörpfeld is entitled to draw a few cautious inferences. Some of the safest of these regard the method of lighting and warming the hall. It is quite certain that as the hall has but a single door into the vestibule, itself not very light, light cannot have entered nor the smoke of the fire escaped by means of the door only. The hall of Odysseus is indeed spoken of in the *Odyssey* as dark, and the armour hanging in it is said to have been blackened by smoke; but the room must have nevertheless been habitable. At Tiryns the arrangement of the pillars in itself suggests what plan of lighting was adopted. Dörpfeld ingeniously argues that the four pillars mark the four corners of a part of the roof which was different from the rest; for he observes that had the pillars merely borne beams running the length of the hall from end to end, then the space between pillar and pillar, and between pillar and bounding wall, would have been equal, which is not the case, for the places of the pillars by no means divide the length of the hall into three equal parts. But the question may still be raised whether the space of roof which lies between the four pillars was left open, so as to form a hypaethral aperture, or whether the roof at that part was merely carried to a higher level, and openings for windows left at the side. Dörpfeld remarks:—

"It might be assumed that the whole square between the pillars was open; but so large an aperture, even in the southern climate of Tiryns, would have made the hall

temporarily uninhabitable in winter. It would answer much better to cover the square included by the pillars, after the manner of a basilica, with a higher roof; in the vertical walls of the upper-structure (clere-story) smaller or larger apertures could be introduced, through which not only light would enter into the megaron, but also the smoke from the hearth would find an easy escape."

The late Mr. James Fergusson also discussed, in a work apparently known to Dr. Dörpfeld only by hearsay, precisely the same question in regard to the lighting of the Parthenon at Athens, and arrived at a similar conclusion; he even constructed a model of the Parthenon on the principle of basilican lighting, of which the effect is most pleasing. The concurrence of two such able authorities should be sufficient for mere laymen, especially when we consider that this method of lighting was certainly in use in Egypt at quite an early period, and that its existence in primitive Greece would account, better than anything else, for the arrangement of triglyph and metope as it existed in Doric temples of historical times. Only we must observe that in his statement that a room with hypaethral opening would be uninhabitable Dörpfeld goes too far, and appears entirely to overlook the well-known fact that hypaethral courts were quite usual in Greek houses of historical times. It seems that moderns are far more tender to the weather than were the Greeks of Homeric or historic days.

Truly delightful is it with these new facts, so securely based, in our minds to turn once more to the doings of Odysseus and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, which no longer seem to have taken place in some dim palace of romance, but in a hall of which the arrangements and details are familiar to us. Through the whole Homeric tale a light spreads like that which the presence of Athene spreads in the hall at Ithaca. "A wondrous sight,

my father, meets my eyes. Meseems that the walls of the hall, and the fair main-beams, and the cross-beams of pine and the pillars that sustain them, are bright to my eyes as if with flaming fire." Here is a stone threshold like that across which Telemachus stepped, as he placed his spear in the spear-stand at the door and went in. Here is a hall where many a noisy crew of Achaean chiefs may have feasted and drunk and quarrelled. Here is a hearth on which they roasted great joints of oxen and swine, and sent down portions to strangers, seated like Odysseus on the threshold. Around hung the shields blackening in the curling smoke, or shining with fire when at night the braziers were kindled, and jest and song went on far into the night, till the feasters went out to cool their heated heads by sleeping in the airy porticoes of the court. Perhaps this floor, like that of Odysseus, once ran with blood during foreign invasion or faction fight, before the fire came which consumed all the woodwork of the palace, and left everywhere those charred remains which mark the end of the gay old Achaean life of Tiryns and the beginning of Argive ascendency.

Among the rooms which cluster about the megaron at Tiryns is one of quite unique interest. This is a small chamber, in size some ten feet by twelve, whereof the floor is formed of a single gigantic slab of stone, weighing about twenty tons, and the walls were wainscoted with solid and close-fitting planks. A gully at the corner, evidently made for the exit of water, at once suggested that this was a bath-room, and no other theory seems tenable. That Homer's heroes, like Greeks of later times, betook themselves to the baths before they went to dine in the hall, is well known to all scholars; and here again excavation gives illustration to the poet's words. Homer speaks of the chiefs as repairing to the ἐΰξεσται ἀσάμινθοι, and the commentators have variously interpreted the phrase in the

light rather of their own ingenuity than of comparative archaeology. But a fragment of a large terra-cotta vessel evidently used in bathing has come to light at Tiryns, proving beyond reasonable doubt that the bathing customs of the Homeric Greeks differed but little from those which the representations on vases show to have prevailed in historical times. In the midst of the floor of the bath-room was placed a large vessel full of warm water. In this, after laying aside his clothes, the bather sat, or over it he cowered, while a bathing man ladled over him the water which, falling on the floor, ran away by the sink in a corner of the room. After the washing came rubbing and oiling. It is however to be observed that the place of the bathing-man is in the Homeric descriptions supplied by a woman, sometimes even a high-born lady. At Pylos, Polycasta, youngest daughter of Nestor, bathes and dresses young Telmachus. Helen bathes Odysseus when he comes to Troy as a spy, and recognises him in the bath by personal marks, as does old nurse Euryclea at a later period. It seems to be a mark of the extreme modesty of the same hero that he declines to be bathed by the maidens of Nausicaa. Thus always when we compare Homeric and later Hellenic customs, we find strong likeness and sharp contrast, presenting to the historian and anthropologist one of the most fascinating of fields for study, a field which they cannot as yet be said to have fully occupied.

Thus far the discoveries of which we have spoken have in the main confirmed the commentators on Homeric antiquities; but we now arrive at a fact which is totally unexpected. At Tiryns we find a second set of buildings by the side of those which we have described, smaller in scale, but very similar in design. Dörpfeld regards it as certain that this set of apartments belonged to the women, as the first set to the men. From the outer propylaeum

a narrow way led between walls to a forecourt, like that of the men but smaller (see plan); and facing this court stands a hall with its vestibule, and in the midst of the hall a hearth. Between this women's hall and the outer wall of the palace cluster a number of rooms of various sizes, and there is reason to believe that it is possible to indicate the place where there was a staircase, leading to an upper story, of which of course no trace now remains. Among these rooms Dörpfeld would look for the bed-chamber of the mistress of the palace, for the treasury where the valuables were kept, and other rooms necessary to a princely establishment.

That this scheme of arrangement was by no means peculiar to Tiryns appears certain when we re-examine the ruins of that city on the hill of Hissarlik, which Dr. Schliemann, not without some reason, regards as the historical prototype of the Homeric Troy. There we find as central mass of the remains* two oblong blocks of buildings side by side, a lesser and a larger, which at first Schliemann, misled by Hellenic analogy, supposed to be temples. There can now be little doubt that they are not temples at all. Temples occupied the acropolis hills of sites in Greece and Asia Minor in historical times, but not in these pre-historic days which are so fast becoming clearer to us. Then the most important places were occupied by those earthly gods or god-like heroes, the wealthy and splendid race of Zeus-descended kings. At Hissarlik too then we must take the ruins to be those of the men's and women's apartments respectively; and in fact looking on their ground-plan in the new light, we at once see the remains of the family hearth.

Also the recent excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society at Mycenae have resulted, as we have already mentioned, in the discovery there of the foundations of a

* See cut, p. 53.

palace nearly resembling in ground-plan that of Tiryns. These foundations, ill-preserved as they are, afford us valuable indications of date. Above them and covering them were the foundations of a Greek temple of the Doric order, a fact which proves beyond all dispute their pre-historic character. About the palace were found fragments of pottery of the Mycenaean class, and fragmentary fresco paintings which seem once to have decorated the walls. We learn that at Cnossus also have been found in conjunction one with the other, a palace of the Tirynthian class and Mycenaean pottery. We have thus to do, not with an isolated phenomenon, but with one of a class. We must suppose that if trial were made on the acropolis hills of Greece we should, in the pre-historic strata, find parallels to what has been found at Tiryns. We must therefore regard it as proved that in the pre-historic Greek palace, the men's apartments and the women's stood apart, though side by side, each with its own fore-court, vestibule and hall. The obvious means of communication at Tiryns is by making a long circuit, which takes us almost to the gate of the citadel. It also appears that it is possible to find a way from the bath-room to the women's court. It is, however, evidently absurd to suppose that the chief, when he wished to visit the apartments of his wife, would make a long excursion through the town, and not likely that the usual route would be by the bath-room. There must have been some closer means of communication, and since we possess knowledge as to the foundations only, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a communicating doorway above the foundations, an ὀρσοθύρη such as that mentioned in the *Odyssey*, as leading out of the men's hall towards the women's apartments. This separation of men and women at Tiryns and Mycenae has been the ground of much controversy, because it appears to be inconsistent with the

customs of the Achaean heroes as described by Homer. We shall return to the subject in the chapter which deals specially with the Homeric questions raised by recent excavation.

We must, however, pass on from the ground-plan of the palace at Tiryns to one or two important discoveries of detail. The *θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*, the cyanus frieze, which the excavations brought to light in the vestibule of the men's hall, probably adorned that chamber, at some height above the ground. This beautiful frieze is made of alabaster, carved in patterns of Egyptian character, with pieces of blue glass inserted at intervals, to give it colour and variety. In this case, too, recent archaeology had proved the soundness of its methods, by giving an explanation very near to the truth. Dr. Helbig had argued that the frieze of cyanus could not be of steel, or any of the other metals which have been suggested, but must have consisted of small plates of blue enamel, inserted into some underlying substance, and worked into the pattern of a frieze. This is remarkably near the truth, and fresh proof that archaeology, having arrived at a capacity for divining what is not yet discovered, has the right to be considered a fully established science.

Scarcely inferior to the alabaster frieze in interest, and very similar to it in design, are the mural paintings of which fragments were found in many parts of the palace. It is useless to attempt to describe their designs, for they can only be studied or understood by turning to the plates of Schliemann's *Tiryns*. Their style is perfectly unmistakable: every one who has turned over Rosellini's or Lepsius' plates of Egyptian architectural designs will see that their true parentage is Egyptian. No one who has learned the lesson of Mycenae, or has seen a drawing of the marvellous stone ceiling of purely Egyptian pattern which was found by Schliemann in the conical tomb at

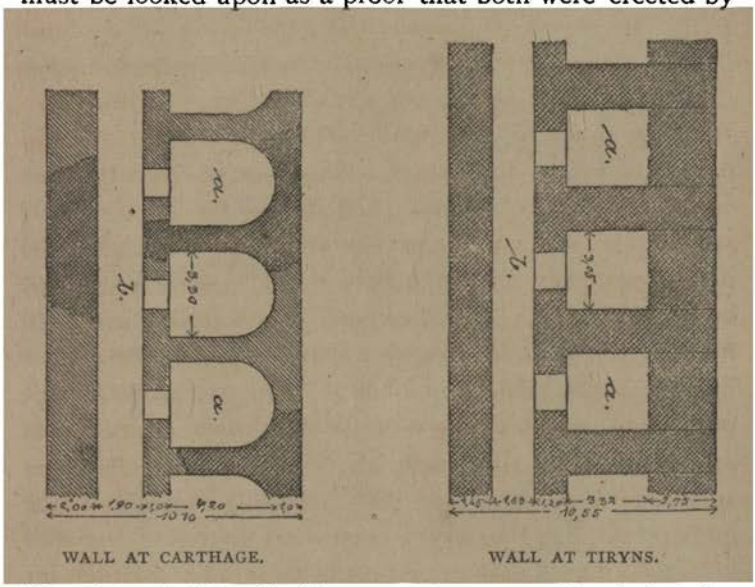
Orchomenus, would be surprised to find in the wall-decorations at Tiryns designs of Egyptian origin. But when we use the phrase "of Egyptian origin," we must do so with circumspection. The native art of Egypt is now known to be, not less than Greek art, a thing of gradual evolution along definite lines. In this fixed and ordered series the patterns at Tiryns have no place. They are eclectic and eccentric; in fact, they are what archaeologists term barbarous imitations. The idea of them comes from Egypt, but in the realization we see the genius of another race. And there is a curious peculiarity about the transcription. When Gauls and Britons copy the coins of Massilia, or of Philip of Macedon, they have an inveterate tendency to pervert lines and patterns into animal and vegetable forms: on the Gaulish coins, in particular, we find quite a bewildering variety of winged monsters, boars, dragons, and birds, all developed out of the simple head of Apollo and the chariot of Philip's gold pieces. At Tiryns we discover precisely the same tendency. The Egyptian patterns grow into the form of birds or winged monsters, some of which have so much of pattern and so little of animal about them, that it takes a close study to discover the radical perversion which has taken place, a perversion exactly the opposite to that to which we are accustomed in modern art, where animals and plants become conventional and sink into patterns. The delight in animal form was very strong in Phoenician and early Greek art, and dominated it more and more as time went on. In one specimen of Tirynthian wall-decoration we have a direct and curiously vigorous representation of animal form, in that very remarkable bull, bearing a human figure on its back, which is one of the most startling results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations, and which furnishes a new illustration of the law, that in all art of all nations there are spasmodic outbreaks of naturalism, sudden touches of that nature which makes the whole

world kin. We may compare the bulls of the Bapheion vases figured at p. 71.

The massive Cyclopean walls which surround the citadel of Tiryns, and which formed an outer line of defence to the royal palace, are familiar to travellers. But things familiar to us often hide from us their secrets. So it is here. The industry and ingenuity of Dörpfeld have revealed to us many unsuspected facts in regard to these walls. Firstly, it is now proved that the universal belief that they were constructed without mortar is erroneous. A strong cement of lime held together the huge polygonal masses of stone: this has now disappeared from the face of the wall, having been washed out by the rain, but still remains in the interior of the structure. Secondly, the nature and uses of the galleries which have long been known to exist in the thickness of the walls have been fully explored. It is now shown that in two cases at least these galleries led to a number of vaulted chambers, built in the wall, and probably used for the storage of provisions and water and warlike material. Some of these chambers appear at the top of our plan. Thirdly, it seems to be quite established that there existed on the top of the wall a covered way, a gallery or portico, admirably adapted for the shelter of the garrison of the castle, and for the discomfiture of assailants. If all cities of pre-historic Greece were thus fortified and provided, it is no wonder that Thebes repulsed Tydeus and his comrades, and that the siege of Troy lasted ten years. A further very interesting discovery is that the citadel-wall is pierced on the west side by a postern gate, from which a long and winding stone staircase leads (see plan, p. 99) up into the back of the palace.

Dr. Dörpfeld lays great stress on the fact that recent excavations have revealed in the massive walls which surround Byrsa, the citadel of ancient Carthage, galleries and

chambers for storage, which in plan and construction differ but slightly from those at Tiryns. He even goes so far as to say,* "So long as a similar casemate-like construction has not been found in Lycia, or in any other district of Asia Minor which had not been visited by the Phoenicians, the conformity between the structures of Tiryns and Byrsa must be looked upon as a proof that both were erected by



WALL AT CARTHAGE. WALL AT TIRYNS.

Phoenician builders." These words were written before the palaces at Mycenae and elsewhere were found, and it is not likely that Dr. Dörpfeld still holds the opinion expressed in them. But the question raised in them is one which it is necessary to discuss. In doing this, however, I will postpone further enquiry how far the palace at Tiryns corresponds to the data of the *Odyssey*, to the chapter which deals with Homeric Archaeology.

Primitive legend, if that be worth anything, is most explicit as to the connections of the early kings, if not the early inhabitants of Tiryns. The city was built, we are

* *Tiryns*, p. 325.

told, by Cyclopes, whom the Argive Proetus brought with him from Lycia. This is but one of several tales which indicate close connection in pre-historic times between Argolis and Lycia, and these tales form together a group among several groups of legends which go to prove that the princely houses of Greece had frequent intercourse with the princely houses of the Asiatic coast, of Troas and Phrygia and Lycia and Cyprus. We hear continually of migrations of the heads of clans from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia; and everything indicates that they were of kindred races, living the same kind of life and strongly united together by aristocratic class feelings. Whether, therefore, the race which ruled in Tiryns were Achaean, or Lycian, or Phrygian, or even of Phoenician extraction, does not greatly matter. They were the sort of kings of whom tradition speaks, and through such in their day passed the line of succession of Hellenic ideas and nascent European civilisation. It is clear, then, that the ruling race of Tiryns may fairly be considered as Greek, for all practical purposes. And the people whom they ruled were almost certainly of Hellenic stock. Works of such magnitude as these colossal walls are not raised by a handful of resident aliens; they are the result of the slow and patient labour of the people of the country where they exist.

But the main question is, after all, not as to the nationality of either king or people, but of the architects who directed and controlled the works. Shall we declare them to have been Phoenician? This is a more hopeful question, for the existing remains give us much material for an answer. For our part, we do not think that the evidence, as a whole, indicates Phoenician architects. Years ago we were all strongly inclined to the belief that the Phoenicians were the main channel through which civilisation flowed into Greece. But of late years evidence to the contrary has

increased. Mr. Ramsay has found in Phrygia great lions carved on the rocks, which seem clearly to be in the direct line of descent of Greek decorative sculpture. And still more recently the excavations at Naucratis have proved that the Greeks borrowed largely from the Egyptians direct, and not through the mediation of the Phoenicians. We cannot therefore allow that the existence at Tiryns of a particular mode of erecting storehouses in the walls, which is found also on Phoenician sites, proves necessarily the presence there of Phoenician architects. Phoenicians and Greeks, and the natives of Asia Minor, may very probably all have acquired the method of construction from some common and older source.

The fact rather is, as ndeed Dr. Adler points out in his Preface to *Tiryns*, that the architecture and art of Tiryns, and of the closely similar city of Mycenae, present analogies to the remains of several ancient peoples. The general form of the conical tombs, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, with its underground *dromos* or approach, seems to derive from Phrygia, where dwellings of this form, and similarly covered by a mound of earth, existed in the time of Xenophon, and exist even to this day. To Phrygia, too, we may trace back the style of the sculptured lions over the gate of Mycenae. The wooden pillars, and the roofs formed of trees laid side by side, of which we find imitations in the stone construction at Tiryns and Mycenae, remind us of the tomb-architecture of Lycia and of Phrygia, the style of which is based on the use of wood. The beautiful carved ceiling of Orchomenus, and the painted wall-patterns of Tiryns, distinctly derive from Egypt, whether directly or through the mediation of the Phoenicians. And besides all this, there is both at Tiryns and Mycenae a great deal of decoration and drawing, which seems autochthonous. The Mycenaean warriors, the bulls of Tiryns and Bapheion, a thoroughly Hellenic torch-holder

from Tiryns, all betray native Greek ideas and art. In this connexion we must mention also the pipes used in the drainage of the Tirynthian palace, which closely resemble those used in the aqueduct constructed at Samos by Eupalinus. It seems therefore most probable, judging from the evidence at present available, that the walls and palaces of the Argolid were not merely raised by Greek hands, but also designed by a Greek brain, though we may trace in them the influence of several of the peoples which surrounded the Greeks, and which were probably at the time more advanced than they in material civilisation.

The palace walls of Tiryns and of Mycenae, combined with the rich treasures of the Mycenaean tombs, serve well to make our notion of the life of the heroes of Greek legend more complete and more vivid.

These discoveries prove that the summits of the hills of Greece, which in the historic age were covered with the temples of the gods, and with works of art dedicated to them, were at an earlier period dedicated not to gods but to men. There rose the noble palaces of the ancient kings of the cities of Greece, god-descended monarchs on whose luxury and prowess, on whose immoderate pride and ruinous crimes the legends told in later Greece loved to dwell, and whose memories furnished subjects to Sophocles and Euripides, as well as to the earlier epic poets. On high they dwelt, fenced in by strong walls, like our own barons of the Middle Ages; while around the foot of their Acropolis-rocks clustered the dwellings of the common people whom they ruled with a rod of iron. Sidonian merchants brought them slaves, or the rich products of Egypt and Cyprus; while they lived, thousands of obedient serfs toiled on their lands or reared their fortress-walls; and when they died they were buried in chambers lined with plates of bronze, and filled with the richest offerings that could be found in Greece, or brought from lands of

older civilisation. Their easy lives passed amid a pomp which we should associate rather with the courts of Sardes or Cyprus than with the cities of Greece. This was the golden age of which Hesiod writes, when the heavens were nearer and the gods were more familiar; when deities looked with favour on daughters of men, and there were born giants and warriors of superhuman prowess and undying fame. As their palaces shone through the land with a light like the light of sun and moon, so do they shine through the mists of history radiant and splendid.

CHAPTER V.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AND THE HOMERIC POEMS.

I HAVE above dwelt strongly on the outer or historical side of the discoveries at Mycenae, because, if they are to be used at all in illustration of the art of the Homeric poems, it is of the utmost importance to know exactly what is their date and origin. It is one thing vaguely to compare the art products of Mycenae with those spoken of in Homer, with a view to finding analogies, and quite another thing to proceed after identifying the art familiar to the heroes of whom Homer sings, to try to measure by means of art the space between them and the *Iliad*. It is this latter task that I would venture in a very slight and tentative way to attempt. Of course this is only one line of argument, and if its results do not agree with those reached on other lines, we must be ready to reconsider the matter.

My view, which it may be well to set forth in few words at once, is this: that the art familiar to the authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is in many respects like the art revealed at Mycenae, but distinctly later, and shewing clear evidence of comparative poverty and degradation.

As to the date and method of composition of the Homeric poems, I cannot speak either in detail or with authority. But I am quite ready to accept the usually received view that they grew up during a considerable space of time, and contain earlier and later elements.

Wilamowitz's view, which Helbig, after a careful survey of the archaeological side of the Homeric question * is quite ready to accept, gives the latest parts of the *Iliad* to the eighth century; the *Odyssey* to the eighth and seventh centuries. But both poems no doubt incorporate legends and even ballads of a much earlier period, and it is in the earlier parts especially that the Aeolic dialect prevails. In the main the Epos belongs to the Aeolian and Ionian colonists of Asia Minor; but they brought much of their materials from Greece; and parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as they stand were composed, in Wilamowitz's opinion, in that country. Mr. Monro † and Mr. Leaf ‡ are both disposed to think that most of the Homeric poems were composed by Achaeans before the Dorian conquest, and taken to Asia by the colonists. This I cannot concede; for it seems to me certain that the poets who wrote them were speaking of a past which lay some distance behind them.

And as the Homeric poems are composite in origin and conventional in language, so the civilisation which they portray is by no means primitive, but in its way complex and artificial. We are constantly tempted to suppose, because the *Iliad* is our earliest specimen of Greek literature, that therefore it represents the beginnings of the Greek race in all respects. But this is far from being the case. The mythology of Homer is incomparably more advanced, refined, and artificial, than that which meets us in the pages of Pausanias or of Apollodorus. The life of the wealthy Achaean kings at home, not of course on the battle field, is depicted as more luxurious than that of any historic Greeks down to the

* *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert.* 2nd edit. 1887, p. 1.

† *English Historical Review*, 1886.

‡ Introduction to Schuchhardt's recent work.

Hellenistic age. This heaven-descended aristocracy had acquired, as dominant aristocracies do acquire, great elegance and refinement of life, and an elaborate code of manners. In western Greece, Ithaca for instance, life was ruder and simpler; but from what the Homeric poems tell us of the courts of eastern Greece, we can judge that they represented not the beginnings of culture, but the bloom of a culture which had gradually arisen, and which, though not advanced, was in its way finished and complete.

Before we proceed to compare the works of plastic and toreutic art mentioned in Homer with those found recently in Greece, it will be necessary to give some sketch, however slight and imperfect, of the history of art in Greece between the age of Mycenae and historical times.

It would be very interesting if we could pick out amid the Mycenaean spoils those which may be claimed as Greek in design, and not imported from abroad. This, however, we cannot do with complete certainty. The pottery is no doubt of local manufacture, but though it makes us acquainted with Greek decorative forms, the subjects depicted are so simple as not to help us to judge of the state of art in depicting scenes from life. On these vases the human form very seldom * occurs. The tomb-stones of Mycenae must almost certainly have been made on the spot: but it is generally allowed that the designs on them are mere copies from work in metal, probably on a much smaller scale, and executed by artists unused to working in stone. The fragmentary wall-paintings at Mycenae and Tiryns were certainly home-made, and were they more complete they would afford us the best test we have for the establishment of the style in which the Achaeans worked. The only complete group in them is

* There is a remarkable exception in the procession of warriors on a vase (*Mycenae*, p. 133). But this is of doubtful date and unusual style; it may even be an importation from Cyprus.

that of the bull galloping with a man kneeling on his back. Some human figures with asses' heads, at Mycenae, are also fairly well preserved.

Putting together what we can learn from these indications, we seem to be justified in assuming that the art visible in the smaller remains at Mycenae, the engraved stones, the gold seals, the thin plates of gold, and the rest, represent native rather than foreign art. More elaborate, and at a higher level of art, though similar in style, are the wonderful sword-blades adorned with scenes inlaid in them, scenes which were concealed by rust and oxide from discovery by Dr. Schliemann, but afterwards brought to light by the patience and ingenuity of Kumanudes. The style of the most remarkable, a hunt of three lions by a body of warriors armed with shield and spear, is very distinctive. The proportions of the figures and their general plan are Egyptian. But the whole scene has a life and hardy naturalism which belong to Greece: the figures are lithe and in motion, not fixed and mechanical. And the central touch of the picture, a man lying stretched under the fierce attack of a lion who turns on his pursuers, is a motive for which one might in vain seek a close prototype amid all the sculptures of Egypt and Assyria. In Egyptian battle-scenes not one of the Egyptian soldiers is represented as falling; but the Greeks saw that the fall of a few men while their comrades were victorious is a touch which adds pathos and human interest to a battle. And it was in virtue of keen and true perceptions like this that Greek art at a later time rose to so high a level. The cups of Bapheion, too, of which mention has already been made, and which are figured on p. 71, appear in spite of the introduction of the Syrian palm-tree to be in all probability the productions of Greek artistic talent. The likeness they bear to the celebrated mural painting of the bull at Tiryns indicates this.

Several of the gold signets found in the tombs at Mycenae show us a style identical with that of the swords; the men on them are armed in the same way, and carry the same sorts of shields. And these signets again lead us to the intaglios of early date which are found in Crete and Rhodes and other Greek islands, the peculiar style of which has offered a basis to the very remarkable theories recently put forth by Milchhoefer * as to the existence of a native and local style of art in Greece at least as early as the twelfth century before the Christian era.

These intaglios are cut upon small stones of lentoid shape, which are pierced with a hole for suspension, and probably served the owners as seals or amulets. They are not found in Asia, but frequently in the Greek islands, Crete, Rhodes, Melos, and Cyprus, and sometimes on the mainland of Hellas. Their subjects are distinctive, and it is remarkable that they display but little Oriental influence. Oriental creatures, the lion, the griffin, and the sphinx, appear on them, according to Milchhoefer, but rarely. Nearly always they present to us either animals of European character, bulls, goats, stags, dogs, and the like, or subjects derived from Indo-European mythology. Among the latter, beings with the head of a horse are conspicuous, and Milchhoefer tries with all the resources of learning to show that horse-headed monsters belong to the mythology of Greece rather than of any other country, and to connect them with the tales of the Harpies, of the Gorgon who gives birth to the winged horse Pegasus, and the horse-headed Demeter worshipped at Phigalia and Thelpusa. These gems the writer considers to be the work of the Pelasgic race in the islands of the Aegean. He goes too far in his theories, no doubt, but his views are very suggestive, and undoubtedly contain a kernel of truth.

Thus we are able to identify among objects found at

* *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland.* Leipzig, 1883.

Mycenae many specimens of native Greek art, as well as much work which seems to reveal a Phrygian origin. A third element at Mycenae, the Semitic or Phoenician, is far less plentifully present. Here and there in the woodcuts which illustrate *Mycenae* we find objects which seem to have been imported from Phoenicia. Such is the figure of Aphrodite with a dove resting on her head,* and the gold plate which bears a representation of a temple of the same goddess with doves seated on it. Through the Phoenicians, too, perhaps came the tassel made of Egyptian porcelain, which was found in one tomb, and especially an ostrich egg, which can only have been of African origin. These objects prove that Phoenician trade existed at the time of the Pelopid kings, but their rarity proves that Phoenician commerce had not yet reached the fulness of development which belonged to it at a later time. In the Mycenaean age the Greeks could hold their own against any people, except perhaps the Egyptians, in the richness and beauty of their handiwork. Nor do the few Phoenician productions from Mycenae show any of that elaboration of design and complication of scene which belongs to the Phoenician art of the eighth and succeeding centuries.

Dr. Helbig, who regards the Mycenaean swords and seals as works of Phoenician art, does not sufficiently consider the difficulty of separating them from works of home manufacture; nor does he allow for the fact of a direct Egyptian influence on Greece, which is proved to demonstration by the ceiling at Orchomenus.

Let us follow the archaeological record of Greece down to a later time.

Those who have studied the early history of Greece are aware that it offers an extraordinary lacuna between the supposed time of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus and the first Olympiad. The date of the Dorian invasion

* *Mycenae*, p. 180.

according to the received reckoning is 1104 B.C.; the Olympiads begin in 776 B.C. We have thus a period of three centuries and a quarter which is almost a blank as regards events of which we have any knowledge. Yet the state of Greece as represented in the mythic legends so entirely differs from the state of Greece as it appears in the dawning of history, that we are compelled to believe that there is a gap of time between. This gap is supposed to be filled with obscure events and inglorious names. It is supposed that exhausted Greece was in those centuries recovering from the benumbing effects of the Dorian conquest, and rising by slow degrees to the height of civilisation from which she had fallen during the wandering of the tribes. But it would appear that this blank space of time held the seeds of the rapid development of aftertimes. It was then that wealthy and prosperous Greek colonies grew up along the whole Asiatic coast, and Cumae arose as the first outpost of Hellas towards the west. Into this period falls the Lycurgean legislation, which laid the foundation of the greatness of Sparta, and the rise of the Homeric and Hesiodic schools of poetry, which fixed for all time the main outlines of Greek mythology and the Greek language.

It is not a little remarkable that in the archaeological record of Greece there is a gap which closely corresponds to the gap in Greek history. The objects found at Mycenae, and the kindred objects found in the excavations at Bapheion and Menidi, belong to the time before the Dorian invasion. The art remains of the next age are comparatively very poor, alike as regards style and material. But they exist in the lowest strata of the remains at Olympia, in the continued series of the island-gems in Melos and Thera, and elsewhere. The most interesting remains of the post-Dorian age exist where the Dorians did not penetrate, in Attica. In the very early cemetery

of the Dipylon at Athens have been discovered works in bronze and other materials which must be given to this period, which exhibit in their decoration that geometrical style of art which seems to belong to most races at a certain low stage of their civilisation. The Dipylon pottery also,* although contemptible from the point of view of art, is interesting from the subjects portrayed on it, chariot-races, the laying out of corpses, sacred dances and processions. It is as clearly historic in age, in spite of its rudeness, as Mycenaean art is pre-historic, and some of the later specimens even bear inscriptions in Greek letters.

The Dipylon pottery is about the highest representative of art after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus. It is probable enough that the Dorians were slow in acquiring the use of the arts, not being naturally aesthetic. And it may be that the conquered Ionians and Achaeans had small chance, amid their struggles for bare existence, to continue or develop their artistic activity. So while it is possible that carefully conducted excavations amid the ruins of the cities of Aeolis and Ionia might bring to light the traces of an art linked on one side to the art of Mycenae, and on the other side to the art of historical Greece, yet it will scarcely be wonderful if that art, if discovered, will disappoint us by its meagreness and want of energy. But of course this is a question to which the final answer can only come from the spade.

It is in the eighth or seventh century before the Christian era that Greek history, and indeed the history of Europe, may be said to begin. This period witnessed the colonising of Sicily and lower Italy by Greeks, and the rapid spread of Milesian trading stations in the Euxine, the conquest of the Messenians by Sparta, the rise of lyric poetry, and the establishment of the Olympic festival, to be for a

* The most convenient account of early Greek pottery will be found in Rayet and Collignon's *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque.*

thousand years a tie to bind Hellas together. And it saw a revival of art, which had its origin in the East and thence spread over the islands of Greece into the mainland. The spread of the use of writing, and the gradual introduction of coins, accompany henceforth the slow development of sculpture out of mere decoration; so that at any later time we have means for assigning a date within fairly narrow limits to any objects of Greek art which we may find.

We must very briefly follow this new wave of art, which passed westward from Phoenicia along the shores of the Mediterranean. Especially in the case of two materials, metal and pottery, we can trace stage by stage the spreading influence. Let us begin with metal-work. In one of the palaces of Nimroud excavated by Sir H. Layard there were found a number of bowls of bronze, with designs of repoussé work, which now form a chief ornament of the Assyrian galleries of the British Museum. The palace in which they lay was not built by King Sargon, but he is believed to have used it. And as the bowls in question do not exhibit the style which we recognise as Assyrian, but are, on the contrary, of distinctly Egyptian type, it seems clear that they were importations from abroad. It is regarded by archaeologists as almost certain that they were some of the spoils brought home by Sargon in the course of his conquest of Phoenicia about B.C. 720. These vases then give us a view of the art of Phoenicia at that time. We cannot here give any detailed description of them;* it must suffice to say that they show throughout an intelligent appreciation of the ideas and customs of Egyptian art, but in imitating that art they adapt; they add as well as lose in copying. But they introduce few forms and few ideas foreign to the art of Egypt. Baby-

* Layard, *Nineveh*, 2nd series. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. ii.

lonia and Assyria contribute comparatively little to them.

Other metal bowls of silver and bronze, which are also ascribed to Phoenician workshops, have been found in various countries of the Mediterranean, more particularly in Etruria and Cyprus. These bowls have been repeatedly published * and discussed. Their most remarkable characteristic lies in the way in which they combine the representations of Egyptian and Assyrian art. In alternate bands, sometimes in alternate groups of the same band, we may discern, mingled together, Egyptian kings slaying their foes, Assyrian monarchs hunting lions, the scarabaeus of Egypt, the sacred tree of Assyria, scenes of ritual such as figure on the walls of Egyptian tombs, and incidents of court life such as we see depicted on the walls of the palaces of Nimroud. These vessels of thoroughly eclectic or mixed art belong to a later period than the vases of Nimroud, which show mainly Egyptian influence. They must belong to the seventh and the sixth centuries before the Christian era; and this date will well suit the objects found with them in Cyprus and in Etruria.

There can be no doubt that works in metal so finished and effective as these engraved Phoenician bowls must have had great influence in Greece and Italy, more especially because they came at a time when the old art of Greece was nearly extinct, and no new art had yet arisen to take its place. In Etruria we find careful and well-executed copies of some of the more usual and mechanical designs on these bowls. We might have imagined that the importation of works so complete into Greece would have produced in that land also mere imitations more or less perfect. But careful copying did not suit the Greek nature. Hellenic artists were at all periods original and

* L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xix. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. pp. 759, 769, 779, &c.

productive. So though Phoenician metal-work stimulated them into activity, the line taken by that activity was original and national. What it was will more clearly appear if we consider the history of the decoration of vases at the same period.

The spreading Oriental influence of which we have spoken may be traced less clearly in those vases of Cyprus which were probably executed by Phoenician hands, than in the pottery discovered at Camirus, in Rhodes, in such quantities by Salzmann and Biliotti.* The designs of these remarkable vessels show us in many points influences which must be Oriental. The rows of animals which surround the vases in bands, each animal in exactly the same attitude as the other, show close analogy to the Phoenician bowls of Nimroud. Among these animals those predominate of which the eastern origin is clear, the lion, the sphinx, the griffin, and many other winged monsters such as the Asiatic brain alone originates. The field of the vases is filled with floral ornaments and rosettes, which is a mark of Assyrian influence. And in the decoration of the vases two forms predominate, the lotus, alternately flower and bud, which belongs to Egypt, and the sacred tree which is a distinguishing feature of Assyrian decoration. On the Dipylon vases, on the other hand, such Oriental designs are notably absent, and the scenes bear far more the character of home-invention.

The colouring of these vases is rich, and they are beautiful with a certain mechanical completeness. In their way they are specimens of very successful decoration, and we cannot wonder that they fascinated the Greeks of the seventh century. That the Greeks fully adopted this kind of vase-painting, whencesoever it came to them originally, has been of late abundantly proved by the discoveries at Naucratis in Egypt, where an enormous quantity of pottery

* *Nécropole de Camire.*

of the class has been discovered, dating doubtless from near the time of the foundation of Naucratis in the seventh century B.C. But Greek art soon became a thing too much alive to be confined in the limits of any decoration, however admirable. A demand arose for something containing more of human interest. And the Greek potters met the demand, not by copying on their vases some of the more elaborate scenes of cult or of court life, such as they must have seen on the eclectic metal vessels of Phoenicia, but by introducing something of their own, some scene out of Greek legend or mythology. Thus we see illustrations of Greek myths gradually make their way on the decorative Oriental pottery, and by degrees claim the first place, driving into a corner the foreign elements, until the friezes of animals which used to cover the whole surface of the vases remain only in a narrow band above and below the mythological scene, which has now occupied the post of honour which it is never again to lose until Greek art is in its dotage. A good illustration alike of the Oriental setting of early Greek art and its aggressive attempt at originality will be found in that remarkable archaic bronze plate found at Olympia, where a combat between Herakles and a Centaur appears as a proof of Hellenic workmanship among animals and monsters of purely Asiatic character.

Having thus brought down the archaeological record of Greece to the seventh century, after which time we emerge into the full light of history, let us retrace our steps. Let us take up the problem at the other end; and briefly consider what account is given in the Homeric poems themselves of the state of contemporary art; and of those details of vessels, armour, and the like, of which we find in works of art a full and satisfactory representation. Such a discussion will, we believe, firmly establish the conclusion that the Homeric poems were written at a time of decadence of art, when the light which shines so clearly

at Mycenae had faded away, but yet the new revival had not made its start from the East, or at most had but recently started on its career of conquest.

When the art of the Homeric age is spoken of, one's mind naturally turns to the description of the shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad.* And as this is the only careful description of a work of art in the Homeric poems, it is the touchstone by which will be tried all theories which attempt to determine the condition of the modelling arts in the Homeric age. Assuredly we have no intention of writing an account of all the views which have been set forth by Alexandrian and by modern writers on this fruitful subject, which has ranged the greatest names in opposite camps. Nor would the present writer venture to attack a subject already handled by Welcker, Brunn, and a host of able writers, but for the fact that the last few years have greatly increased the possibilities of forming a sound judgment.

Two questions require consideration—(1) How far is the Homeric description suggested by, or how far does it correspond with, works of art familiar to the poet? (2) Supposing such correspondences to exist, to what class of works of art do they point as contemporary with the Homeric poems? We have placed these questions in their logical order; but this we shall have to reverse in any practical discussion of the matter, because until we have determined the kind of art with which Homer was familiar we cannot in fairness attempt to decide how far he was influenced by it.

There are three theories which may be held, and have been held, as to the art contemporary with the Homeric poems. The first, and perhaps the most natural, is that it was the archaic Greek art which is represented to us by Pausanias' description of the chest of Cypselus, as well as by a multitude of early painted vases which have come

down to us, among which the so-called François vase* is conspicuous for its early age and its great variety of subjects. This, we say, is the most natural view, but a little consideration will show us that it is untenable. It is, in fact, now generally abandoned; and with reason. In the first place, none of our vases of the so-called Corinthian, Rhodian, or Cyrenaean classes can be carried back to the age of Homer. And the chest of Cypselus, which closely resembles them in subjects and style, probably belongs to the seventh century. Secondly, if we compare the scenes of the Homeric shield with the scenes of the vases and the Cypseline chest, we shall find a strongly-marked contrast. All the Homeric scenes are general or ethical; they represent phases of life and action, a city at war, ploughing, a lawsuit, and the like; while all the scenes on the vases and the chest are mythological, represent the doings of Perseus or Herakles, or other heroes, or the interferences of the gods in the life of the world. We have here a distinction clear, deep-seated, and unmistakable; which proves, if anything can be proved in archaeology, that the two phases of art are divided by a considerable period of time, and belong to distinct civilisations. In the Hesiodic account of the shield of Herakles, or at least the part of that account which is not a mere copy of epic models, we do find scenes which correspond very nearly with those existing on early vases. But it is certain that the Hesiodic description is later by many years than the Homeric.

Let us then dismiss this first theory and turn to the second, which requires more respectful consideration, as it has been set forth by very high authorities, Brunn for instance, and is still upheld by Dr. Helbig and Mr. A. S. Murray. This theory brings into connection the Homeric shield and those Phoenician bowls of silver and of bronze of which we have above spoken, and considers that Homer

* *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, iv. pls. 54–58.

borrowed his scenes from them, and through them from the wall-paintings and reliefs of Egypt and Assyria. Mr. Murray, in his *History of Greek Sculpture*, has gone so far as to print a design of the shield of Achilles of which nearly all the scenes are taken from these sources. He also points out, what is much to the purpose, that recently in Crete there have been discovered shields, the designs of which may be placed in line with those of the bowls, and which may have been imported from Phoenicia or Cyprus.* They are however very fragmentary. Undoubtedly there would be much to be said for this view if it could be shown, or even rendered probable, that Phoenician wares of the more developed and syncretic designs were exported to the shores of the Mediterranean as early as the ninth century B.C. But this is not merely unlikely but almost impossible. We have already shown that the Phoenician bowls of even the eighth century exhibit a style almost purely Egyptian; and that the Assyrian designs, which have more of the Homeric character than the Egyptian, do not appear until a later age. In fact, the bowls which by variety and richness of design most tempt a comparison with the Homeric description are comparatively late,† and in all probability not so early as many extant works of archaic Greek art. It seems therefore an anachronism to suppose that Homer can have seen such. Other considerations confirm the argument from date. One of the most striking and remarkable things about the Homeric description is the way in which the inlaying of various metals on the shield is described; we have a field of gold, vines with silver props, a fence of tin, oxen of gold and tin, and

* *Museo Italiano*, vol. ii.

† That found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb was in company with an Etruscan inscription, and the Etruscan alphabet was of late introduction. That found at Palestrina was among objects not earlier than those in the Regulini-Galassi tomb. Dr. Helbig himself declares that the Regulini-Galassi tomb belongs to the sixth century B.C.

the like. If there be one point on which Homer is describing art which he has seen, it is this. But the silver-gilt and the bronze bowls of Phoenicia are chased and repoussé, but not inlaid with various metals. Moreover, the chief theme of Egyptian art as rendered on the bowls is the worship of the gods, the chief themes of Assyrian art as rendered on the bowls are the exploits of kings and the destruction of evil spirits in the form of monsters. But in the Homeric description the cultus of the gods is notably absent; and great as was the pre-eminence of the kings in Homer's days, it is not their deeds which appear on the shield but the ordinary life of mankind, subject-matter, one might have thought, rather adapted for a Hesiodic than a Homeric description.

The third theory as to Homeric art, and on the whole the most reasonable, is the view which sees the nearest analogy to the Homeric description in some of the works of art discovered at Mycenae, such as the sword-blades already mentioned. The subjects on these blades possess in a remarkable degree the most distinct features of the scenes of the shield. They are ethical or general, represent scenes, and not the exploits of personages. Nor is this all. The lion-hunt of the most remarkable blade (p. 65) is not merely a Homeric subject, but it is treated in a really epic way. One lion flies headlong, one flies but turns to look on his pursuers, a third turns fiercely to meet them; of the attacking party one has fallen; the others are varied in arms and attitude. In spite of the rough style of this work of art, there is more of vigour and freshness, more of pathos, more in fact of the Homeric spirit in it than in the productions of Egyptian and Assyrian artists. They are but chronicles: it is a poem. The fragment also on which the siege is represented (p. 66) has something of epic variety and force, though the naked slingers and archers are not much like the warriors of Agamemnon. If from treatment

we turn to technique, the correspondence is perhaps even more striking. Some of the more beautiful of the sword-blades, including that which bears the lion-hunt, are thus decorated :*—the blade itself consists of bronze, but on each side a second plate of bronze is fastened, overlaid with a metallic enamel of dark hue, which served for the insertion of figures cut in thin gold leaf. These latter depend for their effect partly on the graving-tool, but especially on the varied hues of gold, which varies in colour from the dark red of pure gold to the shimmer of silver. "It seems beyond doubt," writes Koehler, "that the varied toning of the gold was produced by methods of art." On these blades we find fishes of dark gold swimming in a stream of pale gold, drops of blood are represented by inserted spots of red gold; in some cases silver is used. What could be nearer to Homer's golden vines with silver props, or his oxen of gold and tin?

It has also been well pointed out by Hirschfeld and Helbig† that coincidences in subject though not in execution may be observed between Homeric works of art and those Dipylon vases which were probably contemporary with the Homeric poems, though representing a different wave of art from that of the old Achaean monarchies. On these vases, "in accordance with Homeric custom, men in ordinary life wear the sword; their equipment comprises those greaves which gave to the Achaeans the epithet *ἐϋκνήμιδες*." As was the case with Patroclus' corpse, here also a corpse laid out is covered from head to foot with a cloth. On the Dipylon vases we find chariot-races in honour of the dead, like those of the *Iliad*, and tripods set forth as the prizes. A dance of youths and maidens recalls a scene of the shield of Achilles. These resemblances, though not very striking, are worthy of notice. But it is

* U. Koehler in *Athen. Mittheilungen*, vii. 244.

† *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 76.

also to be observed that the ships depicted on the Dipylon vases have beaks or rams in front of them, of which no trace is to be found in the Homeric poems; and in this respect at least they represent a somewhat later age.

Thus it seems that the authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* gained their notion of works of art less from foreign than from Hellenic productions. The art of the great Achaean age they probably knew by tradition and by survival; while perhaps the art of their contemporaries was rather like that of the Dipylon vases; or at all events a degraded descendant of the Achaean.

We proceed to attack our second question—How far is Homer in his description of the shield thinking of works of art, and how far is he giving loose rein to his poetic imagination? The problem has become far simpler if we are satisfied that Homer was not thinking of Phoenician bowls with their elaborate scenes, nor of Cyprian shields, but of arms with inlaid patterns, of shields which he had seen. The general plan of Homer's shield is clear; as to that, all scholars are agreed. On the boss in the midst were represented earth, sea, and sky, sun, moon, and the constellations of heaven, while round the edge ran ocean, inclosing the whole design. Between the two extremes, arranged in concentric bands, were representations of the principal phases of human life: a city at peace and a city at war, tilling and vintage, a lion-hunt and a peaceful pasture, a dance of youths and maidens. The general arrangement is like that which we find on early Greek and Etruscan shields, which are also thus planned in concentric rings. The group of sun, moon, and sky in abbreviated form appears at the top of one of the very remarkable gold signets found at Mycenae,* and we may easily suppose a wave pattern which might well represent the ocean, to run round the edge of any circular object of metal. But when

* Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 254, No. 530.

we come to the numerous and complicated scenes which fill the surface of the imaginary shield, it must at once be admitted that their order and their details are developed without the least regard to any existing or possible work of art, from the poetical rather than the plastic point of view. It is true that there runs through the whole description a law of measure and balance, scene being matched with scene, and circumstance contrasted with circumstance. But this is the result, not of any dependence on a work of art actual or imagined, but of the love of balance and architectonic form which belongs to all the works of the Hellenic race, to poetry no less than to sculpture, which marks the plays of a Sophocles as strongly as the pediments of a Pheidias. It is, moreover, quite remarkable how simple are the designs of all the early Greek shields which are depicted on vases, or have come down to us in the pages of Pausanias. Usually they are decorated with one, or at most with two, figures. The most complicated shield known, that of Athena Parthenos at Athens, was adorned but with a single group of combatants. Etruscan shields, made under Phoenician influence, are of more complex design, but their pattern at most comprises a few monotonous rows of animals.

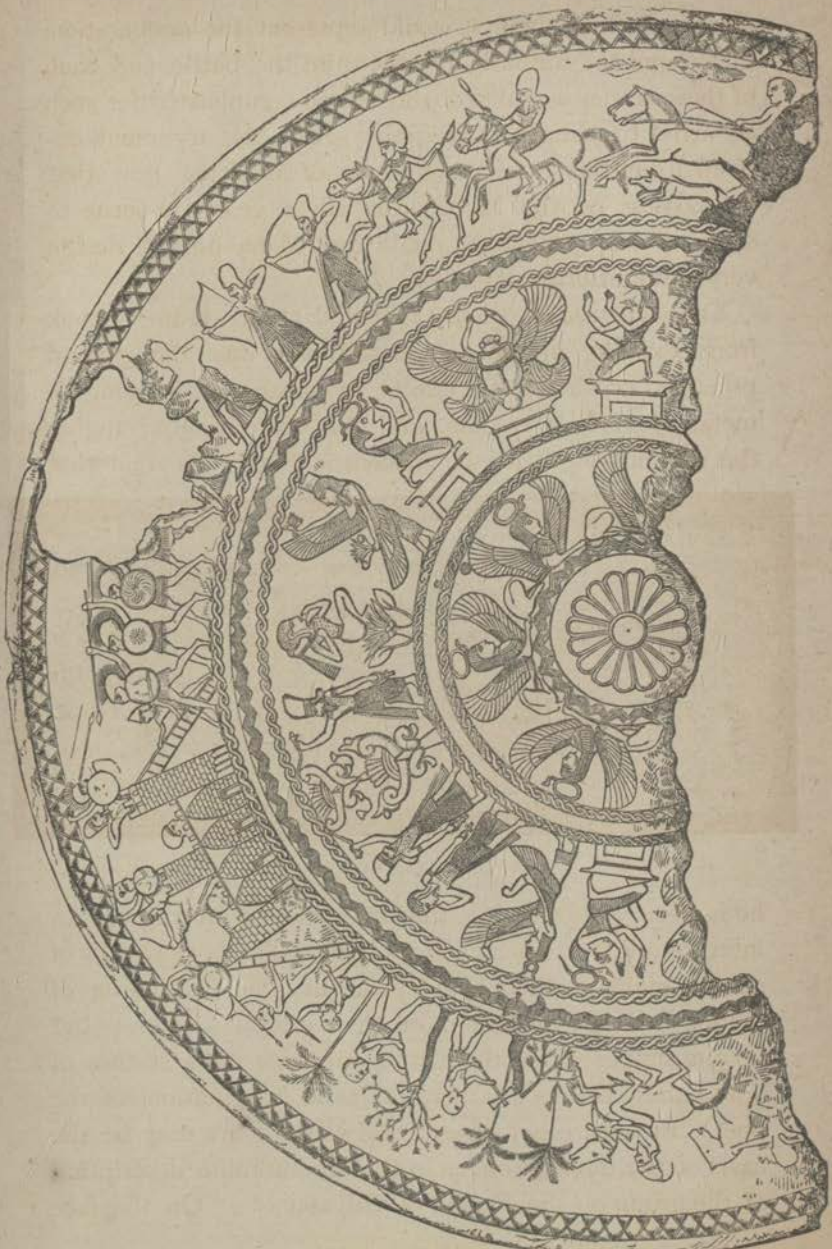
Indeed no one could read with critical mind the Homeric description without observing that of the scenes described none is stationary; all are full of successive events. The disputants turn first to the people and then to the elders; the ploughmen turn up one furrow and down another; the city at war passes through the successive events of half a day. All this is quite natural to a poet describing the phases of human life, but not natural to a poet who is trying to embody to his imagination a real work of art. Homer has beyond almost all poets the power of making the things he speaks of real and concrete; if he had been

intending to describe a real shield, he would have brought it before our minds as he brings before our minds the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, or the warriors whom Helen describes from the towers of Ilium.

It may be well, however, to speak more in detail of one particular passage, that which describes the siege of the city, since as to this a particular theory has been set forth. It will be in the memory of most of our readers that Homer speaks of a series of events as happening. He describes a city girt by two armies which are at issue between themselves, one army wishing to destroy the place wholly, the other to accept a ransom for it. While they deliberate the citizens issue forth, led by Ares and Pallas Athene, and form an ambush, by means of which they succeed in capturing the cattle of the enemy and slaying their herdsmen. The council of the enemy breaks up, they hasten to the rescue of their herds, and a fierce battle is joined on the banks of a river. It has been maintained* that this description is prompted by a reminiscence of an artistic representation of a town with the enemy on both sides of it as he appears on a Phoenician cup† (p. 138); that Homer took the idea of two armies from the two attacking corps. This, however, seems to be fanciful. In the Homeric description the point is far less that the attacking armies are two than that they are together assembled in council; and it is hard to see how an artist of the Homeric age could represent what Homer describes in less than three

* Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. p. 49; Helbig, *Homerische Epos*, p. 305.

† Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xix. In the outer scene we have, in the midst, a city which is attacked by scaling parties from both sides, one party lightly armed, the other armed in Carian or Greek fashion; cavalry and archers advance as supports, and labourers cut down trees. In the middle band we see two Assyrian figures flanking the sacred tree, and various Egyptian deities, Isis, Harpocrates, the frog-god and the scarab. Within is a line of sphinxes.



PHOENICIAN CUP, CYPRUS.

scenes, of which the first would represent the deliberation, the second the ambush, and the third the battle, and each of these scenes would probably be too complicated for such an artist to manage intelligibly. And the argument derived from this vase loses much of its force now that we possess on the Mycenaean silver vessel a scene of siege of unquestionable pre-historic date, but in design very straightforward (p. 66).

Thus it seems clear that all that Homer took from existing art in his description was the general principle of producing effects by means of inlaying of metal of various colours, and the custom of arranging the designs of shields in concentric bands; beyond that



GOLD PLATE, MYCENAE.

he is free. And it is just thus that scholars are agreed to interpret other Homeric descriptions. The poet speaks of golden maids formed by Hephaestus, who had power of motion and speech and more than mortal wisdom; but no one supposes that there were in those days statues of gold; these beings are mere fantastic imaginations of the poet. In some other cases a real work of art may be the basis of the description, as in that remarkable description of the group on the brooch of Odysseus.* "On the face

* *Od.* xix. 228.

of it was a curious device, a hound in his forepaws held a dappled fawn and gazed on it as it writhed. And all men marvelled at the workmanship, how, wrought as they were in gold, the hound was gazing on the fawn and strangling it, and the fawn was writhing with his feet and striving to flee." Certainly in this passage the poet shows a marvellous power of putting life into a simple design, such as he may well have seen; such for example as the Mycenaean gold plate * (p. 139) which represents a lion leaping on a stag. But here there is no narrative; he does not say that the fawn was feeding, and the dog sprang upon it and tore it, but describes a single moment.

In two lines of Homer only do we find a description of a work of art which seems to have been made on the lines of Phoenician art or the Greek art which rose out of it. He says of the sword-belt of Herakles,† that on it were wrought bears and boars and lions and battles and slaughter: a passage which certainly does suggest a composition of a fighting scene between rows of stylised animals such as we see on Rhodian vases. But this passage occurs in the *Odyssey*, not the *Iliad*, and it stands by itself, so we need not press its evidence.

In some cases the resemblances between Mycenaean antiquities and works of art mentioned in the Homeric poems are closer and more detailed. An instance will be found in the case of the cup described in the *Iliad* as belonging to Nestor,‡ "a right goodly cup, that the old man brought from home, embossed with studs of gold, and four handles there were to it, and round each, two golden doves were feeding, and to the cup were two feet below." I cite Mr. Lang's translation, but the precise meaning of the original has been much disputed, and we know that in antiquity at least one treatise was devoted by a learned Alexandrian to the elucidation of this cup.

* *Mycenae*, p. 309. † *Od.* xi. 610. ‡ *Il.* xi. 630.

But the comparison of a gold vessel found at Mycenae has made the nature of Nestor's treasure quite clear to us. This vessel,* which like Nestor's was fastened together with golden nails, has two handles, and on each handle a bird sitting, while two curious supports run up from the base to the rim. We at once conjecture that in Nestor's



CUP OF MYCENAE.

cup the doves were not feeding round the handles, but standing one on each side of each handle; and that the πύθμενες of Homer were not feet, but supports joining the rim to the foot.

In spite however of the general likeness between the art of Mycenae and that of the *Iliad*, the latter seems in a more exhausted and depressed condition. One can scarcely call the shield of Achilles a work of decaying art: but of course that is a poet's work of art, the like of which never really existed. Besides the shield, works of art are rarely described, and when they are it is with an

* *Mycenae*, p. 237.

exaggerated astonishment, which shews such things not to be common in Homeric days. Anything artistically good is either imported from Sidon, or else made by Hephaestus: that such things could be made by ordinary workmen seems scarcely to have entered into the Homeric mind. Would anyone who was accustomed to see brooches well engraved write in regard to the device of a brooch, "And all men marvelled at the workmanship, how, wrought as they were in gold, the hound was gazing on the fawn and strangling it, and the fawn was writhing with his feet and striving to flee." Such a description even applied to a painting by Landseer would sound hyperbolic. Such passages seem clearly to shew that in Homeric times works of art were rare, and in most cases either imported from abroad or else handed down as heirlooms from past generations. But at Mycenae we have to do with an art, not indeed highly advanced, but in the full swing of life and motion, and quite as likely to send out its products to foreign shores as to feel the need of bringing in from elsewhere cunningly wrought works of art.

Analogy does certainly render it probable that the author of the *Iliad* does in art, as in other respects, work rather in the light of the past than in that of the present. It has been well pointed out that we find in the *Iliad* no trace of many customs which must almost certainly have existed among the author's Greek contemporaries. The Homeric Achaeans are unacquainted with writing, they do not use the horse for riding on, they do not eat boiled meat.* It is unlikely that any of these customs were foreign to the Greeks of the ninth and eighth centuries; but they were kept out of their epic poems on the same principle on which a writer of pastoral idylls in our day would avoid the mention of the telegraph or telephone.

* *Ephemeris Arch.* 1891, p. 40: Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 292.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of changing custom which is furnished by the Homeric poems is to be found in the descriptions of arms and armour, on which Mr. Leaf has written an excellent paper.* He shews that the Homeric passages which speak of the shields of Achaean and Trojan warriors exhibit marked inconsistency. The poet evidently thinks of shields as round, and often speaks of them as round; but in other places he clearly implies that they were of that oblong scutum-like form which is often depicted in the island gems and the monuments of Mycenae. Thus the shield of Ajax is compared to a tower, which comparison would be pointless unless it were of oblong form. Hector's shield as he walks touches at once neck and ankle; this would be possible if the shield were oblong, but practically impossible if it were round, a round shield five feet in diameter being a monstrosity. So, too, Homer constantly speaks of the τελαμών or strap by which the shield was suspended from the neck of his heroes. On Egyptian monuments and those of Mycenae we frequently see the oblong scutum thus suspended, but the round shield is alike on Egyptian and Greek monuments managed by means of two handles, and requires no shoulder-belt. We are almost certainly justified in supposing that when the *Iliad* was written the oblong shield had but recently given way in use to that of circular form, whence some confusion arose, and traditional phrases properly applicable only to oblong shields were applied to round bucklers.

The body-armour of the Homeric heroes consisted, as Mr. Leaf and Dr. Helbig have well shewn, of breastplate and backplate, united to form a cuirass, girt round the body by a ζωστήρ or belt, below the bottom of which the body was protected by a metal girdle called a μίτρη. This is an arrangement which does not occur in the representa-

* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. p. 283.

tions on swords and signets at Mycenae. There the warriors, who do not usually even wear helmets, do not appear to be clad in body-armour at all. It is also an arrangement unknown to Greek art after the sixth century. Hellenic warriors, from the stele of Aristion onwards, are represented indeed as wearing a cuirass, but the lower part of their bodies is not protected by a *μίτρη*, but by a sort of leathern apron attached to the lower end of the cuirass. But on very early Greek vases, such as those from Melos,* and even on black-figured vases, we find an arrangement of armour which seems to correspond to the Homeric description. The cuirass is represented as ending below not in an apron, but in a sharp ridge, while below it the hips are girded with a close-fitting girdle which may well be intended to represent the *μίτρη*. In this case also we see a marked progress between the period represented by the Mycenaean remains and the Homeric age. That this progress should have taken place notably in warlike panoply is natural enough. The defeats which they had suffered from the Dorians must have taught the Achaeans by sad experience the insufficiency of their defensive armour, and made them consider seriously how a remedy could be found.



GOLD ORNAMENT.

One curious Mycenaean intaglio in gold† seems to represent a lightly equipped Achaean of the early period armed only with a sword, slaying a warrior wearing a helmet with conspicuous crest, who tries to shelter himself behind an oval shield. Is this latter a Dorian, or possibly a Carian soldier?

In speaking of shields, we clearly see how the Homeric poet mixes the customs of his own age with what is handed down by tradition as to the equipment of earlier and

* Conze, *Melische Thongefässe.* † *Mycenae*, p. 174.

more splendid times, sometimes mingling the inconsistent elements. And this analogy will greatly help us in approaching the most difficult question presented to us by the recent excavations in the Argolid, the relations of the Achaean palace to that of the Homeric poems, we should rather say to that of the *Odyssey*, since in the *Iliad* we have no description of a palace sufficiently detailed and exact to help us.

On the one hand we have the plans of the great houses at Tiryns and Mycenae, of which I have already spoken, with their courts and their halls, and with the apartments of men and women separate, though placed side by side. And facts seem clearly to prove that these houses were the residences of Achaean chiefs in the 12th and 11th centuries before our aera. On the other hand in the *Odyssey* it is clearly implied, as almost all commentators are agreed, that men's and women's chambers were not thus separated, but were adjacent, with doors between, so that intercourse was easy and continual. Professor Jebb in a very clear and able paper * maintains that in the palace of Odysseus: (1) The women's part of the house was immediately behind the men's hall, directly communicating with it by a door. (2) There was a second way of going from the men's hall to the back part of the house, by a passage outside of the hall. And this is in fact the ordinary view which had been previously accepted by the orthodox Homeric commentators: † Mr. Hayman and Mr. Lang however are disposed to regard the women's quarters as not even separate; and there are some passages in the *Odyssey* which seem to support this view. But in any case it is necessary to allow Prof. Jebb's contention

* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii. 185.

† Winckler, *Wohnhäuser der Hellenen*, Protodikos, *De aedibus Homericis*, &c. This view I have also maintained in the *Journal of H. S.*, iii. 264.

that the *Odyssey* becomes unintelligible if we suppose the scene of the slaying of the suitors to have taken place in a palace like that of Tiryns, with men's and women's apartments separated by a space one from the other.

But firstly, it appears that in the Achaean age there was a considerable difference in degree of civilisation between eastern and western Greece. The rulers of the poor and hardy races of Epirus, Acarnania and the Western Isles would scarcely be likely to reach such a degree of civilisation as the wealthy rulers of the Argolid. Besides, if we must suppose, as is indeed certain, that the *Odyssey* was put together, whether in Europe or in Asia, at a period subsequent to the Dorian invasion, how unlikely it is that we should find in it any exact remembrance of the pre-Dorian palace. A race which degenerated in art, changed the character of its armour, and passed from riches to poverty, would not be likely to preserve the custom of building such palaces as the Achaean kings possessed in Greece. The palace of Alcinous was perhaps a reminiscence, coloured by fancy and time, of the great houses of early Greece; but the palace of Odysseus is but a farm-house, where swine wallow in the court and the maids are busy with their mills. We can scarcely be surprised that the poet of the *Odyssey*, needing a clear and actual scene for the slaying of the suitors, went rather by houses which he saw around him than by those of which tradition told.

Unfortunately our information as to the disposition of parts in the Greek house at various periods is very fragmentary. We can only discern that it varied greatly, and depended largely upon degrees of wealth and luxury. In the farm-houses of early type described by Galen, the wife sits by the hearth in the main apartment. In the Athenian house described by Lysias in his speech *de caede Erastosthenis*, husband and wife occupy two chambers, one over

the other, the upper being approached by a ladder. But the ordinary custom in wealthy houses of the later age was to assign to the men and the women of a family separate courts with a passage between, around which courts were grouped the living-rooms and the bed-rooms of the family.

The house of Odysseus does not coincide entirely with any of these arrangements. Its general plan agrees nearly with that of the wealthy historic house. Yet there are a number of details in which the agreement with the Tirynthian palace is singularly close: some of these agreements we will briefly indicate.

(1.) At Tiryns, before the door of the main hall, lies a court surrounded by arcades and fenced with walls, the entrance being through the folding doors of a propylaeum. With this we may compare *Od.* 17, 264. "Eumaeus, verily this is the fair house of Odysseus, and right easily might it be known even if seen among many: there is building upon building; and the court of the house is cunningly wrought with wall and frieze, and well fenced are the folding doors; a man could not easily storm it." Again in *Od.* 16, 343, "The wooers came forth from the hall, past the great wall of the court, and there before the gates they sat them down."

(2.) At Tiryns there is a porch in front of the hall, which well corresponds to the echoing porch of the *Odyssey.*

(3.) In the court at Tiryns was an altar with a trench evidently intended for sacrifices: in the house of Odysseus the altar of Zeus Herceius is situate in the court before the hall.

(4.) At Tiryns the hearth stands in the middle of the hall, the smoke rising through a hole in the roof: in the *Odyssey* the fire in the hall is frequently mentioned, it stood in the midst, and was used for cooking food.

(5.) At Tiryns a passage led from the hall to a bath-room

carefully arranged: in the *Odyssey* (17, 85) the suitors, "when they came to the fair-lying palace, laid aside their cloaks on the couches and chairs, and went to the well-polished baths and bathed them."

(6.) At Tiryns the door-sills were in some cases made of stone, in other cases of wood: this is altogether in harmony with the Homeric custom.

(7.) The glass and alabaster frieze found at Tiryns is not only in accordance with Homeric custom, but it explains as has above been pointed out, the Homeric phrase *θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*, which had before been imperfectly understood.

(8.) In the men's hall at Tiryns the hearth stands in the midst of four pillars which supported, as is supposed, a raised square of roof above. In the *Odyssey*, when Nausicaa is directing Odysseus to the palace of her father (vi. 304), she bids him quickly to pass through the hall to where her mother "sits by the hearth in the light of the fire" busy with the loom, and "resting against a pillar." The coincidence here is very remarkable: in the conjectural restorations of the Homeric palace the hearth had been placed at a considerable distance from the pillars.

These coincidences, besides others of a more doubtful character, or requiring a long discussion to prove, are sufficient to show that the poet of the *Odyssey* knew from tradition, if not from personal observation, many of the features of the Greek prehistoric house, such as those of Tiryns and Mycenae. But he does not seem to be sufficiently familiar with such houses to escape confusion in some parts of his narrative. In the stirring episode of the slaying of the suitors especially he sometimes nods: we find it hard, or even impossible, to determine at which end of the hall Odysseus stood when he shot them down, or how Melanthius contrived to fetch the arms. No one

can make a vivid and consistent picture of an event of which the scene is not really familiar to him; least of all a poet like the author of the *Odyssey* who has to work up given material into a new whole.

Some writers have been led by the marked separation of men's and women's apartments at Tiryns to the view that the palace there must have been built for an Oriental rather than a Greek ruler. But there is here some confusion of thought. No Oriental king arranges his harem, so that he has to leave his palace and wander a long distance in order to reach it. It stands to reason that there must have been some means of communication between men's and women's rooms, and it is most reasonable to suppose that this would have had the form of a side door, the Homeric ὀρσοθύρη. Mr. Middleton in his conjectural restoration * inserts such a door of communication: and it is curious that at the corresponding spot in the supposed men's hall at Hissarlik † the foundation is broadened for some uncertain purpose. If however there were such a door, the means of communication between men and women would be not unlike those supposed by most commentators on the *Odyssey*. The only difference will be that at Tiryns the communication takes place by a side-door, and in the *Odyssey* by a back-door. This difference is important as regards architectural plan and construction, but it does not imply much difference of civilisation or of race.

There can be little doubt that the wandering and troubled life of the Achaeans after the Dorian invasion would tend to diminish the seclusion of women, with the other stately customs of the ancient princely houses. It

* *Journ. Hell. Stud.* viii. 164.

† See above, p. 53. In Dr. Dörpfeld's plan in *Troja* this broadening is marked as belonging to the work of the second period of the burnt city; but in the most recent plan it is marked as belonging to the first period of the city.

would be more usual in Homeric than in Tirynthian days to see the lady of the house standing among men in the hall, or seated by the hearth. Of such gradual change of manners we do see traces in the *Odyssey*, but we see nothing to prove that the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae lie outside the lines of Hellenic history. Even if, as is probable enough, they were originally built for princes of foreign extraction, of Lycian or Phrygian blood, these would not be very different from native Greeks, so far as we can judge, either in language or customs. For of whatever race the mass of the people in Asia Minor may have been, it is more than probable that the upper class was a tribe of pure Aryan blood, and closely akin to the Greeks in arts and religion, in arms and customs.*

We thus reach in conclusion the point whence we made our start. After spending time over prehistoric Greek archaeology and the Homeric data, it always seems to me clear that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belong essentially to a time when the wealthy and powerful Achaean kingdoms of Greece had passed away, and that the civilisation which colours those poems belonged to the past, a past fresh in tradition and looked back to as a period of prosperity and happiness. Certainly archaeology shows that there was such a time, quite apart from the testimony of history. To the rich treasures of Mycenae and Spata and Bapheion there succeeds an age in which the tombs of Greece contain but poor and scanty spoil, spoil which seems to speak alike of poverty and of artistic decline. That, so far as I can judge, should be the age when the *Iliad* received its present character.

* In this connection it is worthy of notice that Mr. Ramsay thinks he can trace, in the ground plan of an early house which he has discovered in Phrygia, traces of separate living apartments devoted to women. See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* x. 176. This evidence, however, must scarcely be relied on, as the date of the dwelling is very doubtful, and it appears to have been lived in by Turks.

The Mycenaean age was in a literal sense the age of gold. Gold was used for cups and for seals, for masks for the dead and breastplates; and the very garments in which the dead were swathed were covered with plates of gold. Iron was all but unknown, and was probably regarded as more valuable than gold itself. Homer also is fond of speaking of gold, but he does not talk of garments of gold, save in the case of the gods, and in his time the iron age had in the literal sense begun; iron was used for swords,* axes and ploughshares. The iron Dorians had got the better of the golden Achaeans, and Greece had passed out of the period of royalty and legend into the period of chieftaincy and actuality. Greek nationality had begun to be formed, and the seeds of the future greatness of the race were being sown in poverty and warfare. Somewhat later, in the middle of the sixth century, the iron men of Sparta, wishing for gold to plate the face of a statue of Apollo, knew not where to seek it, save at the hands of Croesus in that very region whence Pelops is said to have come.

To Dr. Schliemann beyond all others we owe it that we have succeeded in passing the abyss which the Greeks themselves did not succeed in passing, the gap which divides the Hellas of history from heroic Greece. We have discovered an archaeological record of the rise of the Hellenic nation, a record which will probably become every year more full and more trustworthy. We may hope, at least in part, to abandon the purely sceptical tone in which Grote speaks of the ages which preceded the first Olympiad, and by degrees to trace the outlines of the material condition, the manners and the ethnic connections of the peoples of prehistoric Hellas. The dream that Homer narrates actual events may never be realized, and

* It has, however, been doubted whether the passages which speak of iron swords are not interpolations.

we may never be able to test the value of the genealogical lists which are almost all that Greek historians and inscriptions preserve to us in the way of record of their own heroic days. But, nevertheless, we shall find that those days are not buried in hopeless oblivion, and that there is truth of a certain kind in Schliemann's childish belief that the walls of Ilium have not passed into nothingness.

CHAPTER VI.

ANCIENT CYPRUS.

THE traveller who approaches Cyprus from the south-east, and nears the port of Larnaca, can scarcely fail to be unfavourably impressed by the bare and forlorn appearance of a country almost entirely denuded of trees and brushwood, and in the summer months without vegetation. Very different was probably the aspect which even this least fertile side of the island presented three thousand years ago to the Phoenician mariner starting on his westward explorations. In those days vast forests and thick underwood stretched down from the mountains to the shore, offering the visitor the prospect of an inexhaustible supply of the materials for ship building. Very probably the need for wood and tar first attracted the Sidonian sailors to the shores of Cyprus. If so, a stronger attraction soon induced them to remain. In the mountains of the island they found an endless supply of that copper which, until the difficulties attending the working of iron were overcome, was the chief of all the means by which man established his dominion over the earth, the beasts of the world, and his fellow-man. When, further, we consider the position of Cyprus, lying right over against the Syrian coast, we cannot doubt the truth of the tradition that some of the earliest Phoenician colonies were established in the island. Timidly, as their custom was, the new-comers took their post beneath the long

range of mountains which cuts off the southern coast from the broad plain which forms the middle portion of the land, and built their citadels on little hills, easy to be fortified, overhanging sheltered roadsteads, and beaches where their galleys could lie safely. So arose Amathus, Paphos, and the mightier Citium, which became the Phoenician capital, and even gave its name to the whole island.

At this time no doubt the island was already peopled by a race of Anatolian stock. The religious practices of the Cyprian people, and, as we now know, both the style of their art and the alphabet they employed, point to a close connection between them and the primitive races of Asia Minor. But these races were as yet in a state of barbarism, and had little culture of their own to oppose to that brought by the Phoenicians from the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. They were never so quick-witted as the Ionians, and the latter applied to them in scorn the epithet "Cyprian oxen." Modern travellers speak still of the dulness and stolidity of the peasants who dwell in the mountainous and unfrequented parts of the island, and whose ancestors probably lived there three thousand years ago; though Ross, on the other hand, maintains that the Greek peasants who dwell in secluded valleys in Rhodes are equally stolid, and ascribes their dulness rather to the uneventful and monotonous character of their lives, than to an inherent tendency.

To the primitive Cyprians the Phoenicians brought not only the rudiments of art, trade, and civilisation, but also a religion. It is quite likely that they found already established at Paphos the cultus of a great nature goddess. In that case they overlaid that cultus with their own worship of the moon-goddess, the queen of heaven, Ashtoreth or Astarte, the national deity of Ascalon and Sidon. That a people of navigators, in the infancy of

navigation, should worship the moon and the stars is so natural as to require no explanation. Astarte guided the Sidonians on all their maritime expeditions, saved them from shipwreck in many a storm, and measured the time of their return; and their gratitude made her supreme in all matters of navigation and commerce, their directress in war, and the wealthy recipient of a large share of the rich spoils which they reaped by force or by commerce in the far west. But the cultus of Astarte soon changed its form in Cyprus when it came into contact with native customs and beliefs.

Of the cultus of the goddess called by the Greeks Aphrodite at Paphos we know a little from later accounts, but only a little. No subject could possibly be more obscure than the origin of the elements of that worship. We may be sure that it was at least partly Phoenician, but of Phoenician belief we know next to nothing. Movers asserts that the worship of the Sidonian goddess was pure from lascivious rites. If so the grosser elements in the later worship of Aphrodite must have been derived either from a Syrian or a Phrygian source. The Syrians as well as the people of Asia Minor worshipped with orgiastic rites a deity of the feminine gender, who represented at once the moon and that warm moisture of which the moon was the symbol, and which is the great fosterer of life and growth in the world. With this female deity was associated an effeminate male divinity, who doubtless stood for the sun. On all the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean we find among the various peoples pairs of deities of this character under the most varied names and with great variety of legend. In Babylon they were called Sandan and Mylitta; in Phrygia, Attis and Cybele. In Lydia the pair were Graecised into Herakles and Omphale, in the Troad into Anchises and Aphrodite. In Cyprus they sometimes went by the names of Adonis

and Aphrodite. The name of Adonis is probably Semitic, but as worshipped in Cyprus he was certainly a deity of the same class as Attis and Anchises.

We find a further likeness to the religions of Asia Minor and Syria in the strongly organised college of priests, who were attached to the service of the deity of Paphos. Tradition asserted that these priests were all descended from Cinyras. Certainly they were a very wealthy and powerful corporation, with branches in all parts of the island wherever there was a temple of Aphrodite, and great wealth and political power. They ruled at old Paphos almost as kings. Similar to the guild of the Cinyradae were the colleges of priests of Cybele, and the religious corporations of cities which, like Ephesus, took the tone of their worship from Asia Minor. It is also worthy of observation that in the Paphian temple the goddess was represented by no image, but by a conical stone, just as the Syrian goddess was represented at Hierapolis, Cybele at Pessinus, and the Asiatic Artemis at Perga.

Herodotus tells us of the abominations practised in the temple of Mylitta at Babylon, in words which might tempt the reader to suppose that he is exaggerating, or at least that the abominable sensual excesses of which he speaks could have no connection with any form of religion. Unfortunately religious excitement, when perverted, is but too apt to lead to sensuality, as is proved by the history of the early Christian sects, and too surely even in our own day by the rise of strange communistic societies on a professedly religious basis in America and Russia. In Asia Minor the worship of deities of the Mylitta class was accompanied by sensual indulgence and degrading self-mutilations, a canker which spread at a later time deep into the decaying frame of the Roman Empire. At Cyprus the nature of the climate, which has enervated successively Greek colonists, Frankish knights, Venetian

nobles, and Turkish settlers, and the fatal facility of living, both combined with the vague mystical traditions of the Cyprian race to turn the worship of Aphrodite into a vast orgy, and to make the very name of Cyprus stand through the civilised world for a synonym of luxury and sensuality.

In the earliest form known to us of the primitive Greek religion, that kept up by tradition at Dodona, there is already an Aphrodite, who is the child of Zeus and Dione, and is associated with the dove, the great emblem in all times of Aphrodite-worship. An Aphrodite under other names is also found in the Pelasgic cultus, which rendered Lemnos and Imbros celebrated. But after the Paphian goddess had been identified thoroughly with the Greek Aphrodite, and was seldom spoken of by any other name, her worship still retained its repulsive character. Xenophon, however, in the *Symposium*, carefully distinguishes two forms of Aphrodite. Of these the first is Urania, whose symbol was the planet Venus, who was regarded as a virgin, and whose rites were free from impurity. Of her Pheidias made a statue which stood upon a tortoise, and the animal sacred to her was the gentle and loving dove. The other form was Aphrodite Pandemos, fitly symbolised by a goat or a pig, the patroness of harlots and the encourager of all kinds of sexual immorality. It was rather in the latter light that the deity was regarded in Cyprus. The Aphrodisia, which fell at the beginning of April, were stained with the wildest excesses, the two sexes vying one with the other in the bestial rivalry.

Of a scarcely less obscene, though of a more interesting character, was the annual feast of Adonis. In this the love of the goddess for her hero, his death, her passionate lament, and his resurrection from the dead, were represented to the eyes of worshippers by means of images, in a sort of Pagan miracle-play. For one day the crowds

of women stood loudly lamenting and beating their breasts, or sat with tearful eyes raised to heaven; sometimes they even shaved their heads in token of mourning. On the next day, with joyful voices, they announced that Hades had been unable to hold back the young, the blooming Adonis, and Zeus had restored him to life and love. For eight months of the year he was to dwell with his loving Aphrodite; only for four he was to remain with Persephone beneath the earth. The worshippers planted quickly growing herbs in carefully-prepared hotbeds: in a few days the tender stalks appeared, when they were thrown into the sea or into wells, to typify the sudden end of springing life on the earth. In all this we cannot fail to see allusion to the annual winter death and vernal resurrection of the sun; a death and resurrection which by the Pagans of that time were not thought of as figurative, but as actual hard fact. In the same way Osiris died and rose again in Egypt, Attis in Phrygia, and Dionysus in Greece.

Until about the ninth or eighth century before our aera, the Phoenicians worked their will and made their fortunes on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Then the genius of the Greek race began to awake. The *Iliad* may not be history, but it certainly represents a time when the Greeks began to colonise and to conquer towards the East, and to spread themselves over the coast of Asia Minor. The tradition tells how Cinyras, the cunning King of Amathus, in Cyprus, promised Agamemnon fifty ships for the siege of Troy, and how in performance of his promise he sent one galley, in which were stowed forty-nine little vessels of terra-cotta, such, no doubt, as are still often found in Egyptian tombs. This Cinyras is clearly meant for the embodiment of the Phoenician race, and the tradition is a touching reminiscence of the remote time when the Greek was not yet a match in the arts of over-reaching

for his Semitic neighbour. But if Cinyras did not send ships to Agamemnon, he sent him a suit of armour, of which Homer gives a very glowing description, and which was a masterpiece of Sidonian skill. Agamemnon, if the tradition be trustworthy, did not regard the lesser service as a sufficient compensation for the loss of the greater, and at a later period made war on Cinyras and took his city. At that time many a Phoenician city was falling into Greek hands. History tells us little of the method followed by the supplanters, but no doubt the story of Agamemnon and Cinyras had a hundred parallels in real life at the time.

Nevertheless, the settlers who came to Cyprus from Hellas in the Homeric age, did not primarily attack the Phoenician cities. Cyprus, as everyone who has looked at a map of the island knows, consists of a southern mountain-range, a northern mountain-range, and a broad and fertile plain between them, running across the country from east to west. The Phoenicians had already occupied the strip of shore to the south of the southern mountain range. The Greeks began by occupying the strip of shore on the opposite side of the island, to the north of the northern mountain range. These were Peloponnesian settlers. But there came a bolder race of colonists from Attica and Salamis, led, according to tradition, by that Teucer to whom Horace ascribes the motto *nil desperandum*. They established a new Salamis boldly at the eastern end of the great plain, and after a time their compatriots founded Soli, to command the other or western end of the plain. So the Ionians held the central plain, the Peloponnesians the northern mountains, and the Phoenicians the southern mountains. This plain was compared in all antiquity with the valley of the Nile, being yearly flooded by the waters of the Pediaeus, which left a rich deposit of mud and unexampled fertility behind.

At present it is almost a desert, but it may become once more what it has been. The mountains seem to belong to another continent. Herr von Löher * compares them to those of the Tyrol; but the lovely glens breaking down to the sea can be like nothing so much as Greece. In situation, in productions, in climate, Cyprus belongs in part to Europe, in part to Asia, in part to Africa, and it has constantly shared in the political vicissitudes and calamities of all three continents.

The early dwelling of the newly arrived Greeks in Cyprus was not unmarked by the splendid bloom so usual in early Greek colonies. The want of fine harbours prevented Salamis and Soli from attaining a wide commerce and becoming the centres of a great colonial empire like Miletus. Nor did they suddenly spring into wealth and lapse into luxury like Sybaris and Tarentum. But they probably participated, for a time, in the spiritual and intellectual life of Hellas. The *Cypria* was considered one of the grandest epics of antiquity, scarcely inferior to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The epic was ascribed by some of the ancients to Euclus, a poet older than Homer, while others asserted that it was the work of Homer himself. They narrated that Homer sojourned in the island with a daughter named Arsiphone, and giving her in marriage to a man named Stasinus, he gave as a dowry the *Cypria*. Hence, others again maintained that Stasinus was the true author of the epic, and the name Stasinus has quite a Cyprian sound.

The *Iliad* seems to fall from the clouds; none can clearly see why it begins where it does, and why it ends where it does. The *Cypria* seems to have formed a sort of proëm or introduction to it, which begins with the complaint of Earth that she is oppressed with the number of her inhabitants, and her prayer that the crowd may be

* *Cypern*, 1872.

thinned, and ends at the exact point where the *Iliad* takes up the tale. It would appear that the poem of Stasinus was more popular, had greater influence over the poets and painters of Greece, than the poems of Homer. At least, in the poems and plays which have come down to us the subject is oftener taken from the *Cypria* than the *Iliad*. In the case of Greek painted vases, whereas representations taken from the *Iliad* are rare, we find very frequent paintings of the incidents of the *Cypria*, such as the Judgment of Paris, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, or the surprise of Troilus and Polyxena by Achilles at the well. And in Greek legend few names are better known than those of Iphigeneia, Telephus, Palamedes, and Protesilaüs, the deeds of all of whom are narrated in the *Cypria*. Indeed, the quantity of local myths the poem embodies is immense, thus showing the close connection which at the period must have existed between the Greek colonies in Cyprus and the mainland of Hellas.

We can scarcely be wrong in tracing, if not a Cyprian origin, at least Cyprian influence in the Homeric hymns to Aphrodite, as well as in that passage of Hesiod's *Theogony* which records the birth of the goddess from the foam of the sea. This story, like so many of the Greek mythological legends, may have a physical basis. Travellers tell that to this day the sea shore at Paphos is covered at certain seasons of the year, and when the wind is in a certain quarter, with thick masses of foam, which sometimes drift inland before the breeze almost on to the spot where stood in old days the temple of the deity. A German man of science, Dr. Unger, has examined that foam under the microscope, and found it to consist chiefly of the spawn of certain marine crustacea. In this difference between ancient and modern ways of regarding a natural phenomenon there is much that is suggestive.

The date of the Greek settlements in Cyprus cannot be

fixed with accuracy. It was earlier, however, than the date of the foundation of the Italian and Sicilian colonies, that is, than the eighth century before our aera. It probably preceded the time when Assyrian influence was strongest on the coasts of Syria and in Asia Minor. Josephus states, that Shalmaneser, about the year 730, made war upon Phoenicia and penetrated to the shores of the Mediterranean. The straits endured by the metropolis, Tyre, naturally brought greater liberty to the colony, Citium, which from this period began like Carthage to have a trade and a far-reaching policy of its own. At the end of the eighth century Sargon was supreme master of the island, and on a pillar preserved at Berlin we find the names of the kings and kingdoms which paid him tribute, Salamis being at this time the Greek, and Citium the Phoenician metropolis of the island. The tribute was continued to his grandson, Esarhaddon.

As to the antiquity of the connection between Cyprus and Egypt there has been some controversy, some Egyptologists being disposed to regard it as very ancient. But Herodotus states in positive terms, that Amasis, a king of the new semi-Greek Egyptian kingdom of the sixth century B.C., was the first Egyptian king to conquer the island. The determination of the controversy is the less important, because wherever the Phoenicians had sway they introduced a copy of Egyptian manners in Egyptian art; and at this distance of time it is sometimes difficult to distinguish true Egyptian from pseudo-Egyptian influence in art-remains.

After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, the supremacy of Cyprus naturally fell into the hands of the Persians; and hereupon the opposition between the Greek and the Phoenician settlers became at once intensified. Like the Phoenicians of the mainland, those of Cyprus seem to have found their wisdom in a general support of

Persian policy and the Persian arms, in which all the Greeks saw the most dreaded foes of their nascent civilisation and their ancient liberties. When the Milesians and their allies raised the standard of revolt against Darius, Onesilus, brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis, finding his brother inclined to temporise, had himself proclaimed king in his place. He became master of all Cyprus, except the old Phoenician stronghold of Amathus, and, receiving a contingent of Ionic ships, hoped to hold his own against all Asia. But his success soon came to an end. A Persian army came from the coast of Cilicia; and when the two hosts were drawn up for battle, there was, of course, a traitor in the Greek camp. Stasanor, king of the Greek colony of Curium, went over to the enemy, the brave Onesilus lost his life, his army was dispersed, and Cyprus had again to submit to the Persian yoke; even to furnish contingents to the fleet which blockaded Miletus, and to that which was afterwards gloriously destroyed by Themistocles in the battle on the coast of Salamis.

After the invasion of Xerxes had been rolled back, the gallant Cimon with his Athenians sailed to the coasts of Asia Minor, restoring liberty to the Greek cities. As the great cities of Cyprus, Salamis and Soli, were connected with Athens by ties of blood, he would naturally seek their enfranchisement. And as a matter of fact he did so, and even won a splendid victory on the east coast of Cyprus, but was not finally successful. And now we reach the period most splendid in the ancient history of our island, when the arrival of a great man for a few years, if we may trust the rhetoric of Isocrates, makes Cyprus great. It was the period of the peace of Antalcidas, when Persia won back by gold and art much of the territory and supremacy which she had lost to the conquerors of Marathon and Plataea. About the year B.C. 410, the throne of Salamis was occupied by a Phoe-

nician usurper, named Abdemon. Of immemorial right that throne belonged to the family of Teucer, who had founded the city and named it after the island whence he sailed for Troy. Suddenly a member of that ancient family, by name Evagoras, appeared in Salamis with fifty followers, who 'reverenced him as a god,' and followed him implicitly in an enterprise to which a prosperous termination seemed impossible. But the extraordinary personal ascendency of the leader and the faith of the followers accomplished the seeming impossibility. The palace was stormed, the foreign guards slain, and the citizens, who, as Isocrates, who tells the story, says, stood trembling and undecided by, were informed that their ancient line of kings and their legitimate supremacy in the island were restored. Evagoras, prudent as he was valiant, long sought to avoid the inevitable breach with Abdemon's master, the great King of Persia, and even for a time succeeded in maintaining an alliance with him and the Athenian Conon against the Lacedaemonians, whom Conon defeated in a great battle at Cnidus. But the object of Evagoras' life, the complete Hellenisation of Cyprus, was an end the attainment of which Artaxerxes of Persia could not allow so long as he had a soldier or a ship left. On the representation of the Phoenician cities of Amathus and Citium, supported, *more Graeco*, by the Hellenic rival of Salamis, Soli, Artaxerxes sent an army to put him down. Evagoras had long foreseen what turn events must take, and had strengthened his position by making great military preparations and by securing the alliance of the Athenians, and Acoris, the native aspirant to the throne of Egypt. Now he drew the sword and flung away the sheath. Aided by the Athenians under Chabrias, he made himself master, in a rapid campaign, of nearly all Cyprus, sailed across to Phoenicia, took by storm the mighty city of Tyre, which so long defied Alexander the Great seventy

years later, and stirred up a revolt against the Persians in Syria and Cilicia. But Artaxerxes was now thoroughly aroused, and, straining every resource, landed upon Cyprus a force amounting, according to Diodorus, to 300,000 men, at a cost, says Isocrates, of 50,000 talents, and supported by a fleet of three hundred sail. Even against these forces, for a time, Evagoras held his own. He defeated Persian troops in several small engagements. Then he seems to have formed the plan of suddenly attacking and destroying the hostile fleet, hoping that without its aid the army must starve. Falling upon a portion of that fleet, he crushed it at the first onset; but the reserves came up. The Persian admiral Gaos fought with desperation, and at last Evagoras was overpowered by superior numbers. After this misadventure Salamis was blockaded by sea and land; but even after suffering the hardships of a long siege, Evagoras would not consent to accept a peace offered him on condition that "he would submit himself to the will and the command of the Persian king, as a servant to his lord;" and, finally, the Persian pride was compelled to accept the terms he offered, and to allow him to retain Salamis on paying an annual tribute and submitting himself "as a king to a king." But, notwithstanding, Evagoras' high hopes were shattered, and Cyprus lost for sixteen hundred years the chance of playing a part in history.

Cyprus fell easily into the hands of Alexander the Great, and after his death belonged to the Ptolemies of Egypt. The number of Ptolemaic inscriptions discovered in the island, shows how closely at this time it was connected with Egypt. It is probable that during the Ptolemaic dominion and that of the Romans, who succeeded, the island maintained a great pitch of wealth and material prosperity. The enormous quantities of silver coin issued by the Egyptian kings at Cyprian mints show that they knew well how to develop the material resources of the

land. In the reign of Trajan the Jews of Cyprus revolted and slew, it is said, a quarter of a million of the inhabitants —a fact which testifies at once to the populousness of the island and to its wealth, for where Jews were in such numbers money must have been to be made.

No doubt, during the period at the history of which we have thus slightly glanced, vast changes had taken place in the appearance of the island. Throughout antiquity copper was obtained there in extraordinary abundance. Nor was the quantity alone remarkable, but the quality also. It was noted for its ductility and malleability, and almost rivalled gold in brightness. The Roman monetarii cast their *asses* out of it; artificers in all lands preferred it for objects of use and ornament; while on the spot were formed from it sory, misy, chalkitis, and other mysterious compounds. No one who is acquainted with Cyprian remains can doubt that gold and silver were found in the island; indeed, we know from the writers that gold was dug there by the Venetians, and Cyprian emeralds were prized above all others. In ancient, as in modern times, the great salt-lakes at Citium and Amathus dried up annually and left a thick layer of excellent salt, a marvellous and unfailing source of wealth: indeed in old times people used to say that Citium produced salt enough for the whole world.

The very name of Cyprus tells how cypress (henna) flourished of old in the island. The fig-trees attracted swarms of fig-peckers (beccaficos), a bird still common, and considered one of the greatest delicacies of the Levant; and wherever the Greek went he took with him his beloved olive-tree. Palms grew, but were less common than since the Turkish occupation, nor did the fruit ripen. The mountains still retained their primeval clothing of pine-forests, furnishing an inexhaustible supply of navy-timber, and bringing to the land refreshing showers and

cool airs. But during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods corn and wine were the chief produce of the island. The great central plain was covered with waving fields of barley; the valley of the Pediaeus contributed almost as richly as the valley of the Nile and the plains of Sicily towards the great distributions of bread among the lower classes of Rome, which made that city, under the Empire, the lazy and hungry stomach of the civilised world. The wine of Cyprus was proverbial. Possibly it would have seemed somewhat rough to a modern taste; but for generosity and richness it had few equals.

We hear very little, after the Greek colonists of Cyprus had become in a few generations acclimatised, of any of them having become distinguished in literature and art. While Rhodes, a day's sail to the west, enjoyed a lofty political career, exhibited the best phases of Greek culture, and was filled with splendid statuary produced by local artists, Cyprus was remarkable only for the luxury, the prodigality, and the dissoluteness of its inhabitants. When Greek fabulists and philosophers wished to bring forward an example of effeminate self-indulgence they quoted or invented a king of Cyprus. The wealth which generous nature heaped upon the inhabitants they spent in elaborate self-indulgence; the faculties with which the Greek race was so abundantly endowed they exercised only in the invention of new and abominable forms of sensuality. The moral is no new one. There are spoilt children of nature as well as of society; and just as the child whom his parents have indulged begins by slighting them and despising their wishes, so the race spoilt by nature begins by violating the ordinances of nature. And yet Cyprus gave birth to the Stoic Philosophy. Zeno of Citium owed his education to Athens, but he must have owed the nature which moulded that education to his native place. In him the Cyprian spirit, after sounding every deep of profligacy.

sick of the vanity of enjoyment, went into the cloister to seek peace in self-control and the limitation of desire.

Everyone knows how, after a thousand years of Roman government and Byzantine bureaucracy, the glory of a second youth burst upon Cyprus. Under the Lusignan family the island became the bulwark of Palestine and the chosen home of the flower of Frankish chivalry. If the life which the medieval writers of romances describe ever became actual fact, it was there. Of the law administered between knight and knight we have evidence in the *Assizes de Jérusalem*, a monument of lofty feelings and gallant aspirations. Then tourneys and combats, conducted according to the most approved methods of fantastic chivalry, took place daily in the plain of the Pediaeus. Then rose Nicosia and Famagosta, cities splendid even at this day in their utter decay, filled with churches, some of them built in a style peculiar to Cyprus, a refinement of Norman art. Then the castle of Buffavento was erected on the perpendicular rocks of the northern coast, and rich abbeys like that of Bellapaïs became the abode of a host of ecclesiastics and the centres of rich cultivation. The materials for the history of this period have been collected with zeal by de Mas Latrie, and the subject is well worthy of an English pen. But we have not here space to recount it even in outline, and we have chosen for our subject rather the ancient than the medieval glories of Cyprus. We will but quote the testimony of Ludolf of Sudheim, an ecclesiastic of Paderborn, who visited Cyprus in the middle of the fourteenth century:—

"Cyprus is the noblest, most fertile, and most illustrious of islands, and the richest too: none in all seas comes near to it, and in all goods it is richer than the rest. . . . By all sea-ports, Egyptian, Syrian, Armenian, Turkish, and Greek, it is surrounded as with a girdle. To them all one

can sail in at most one day.... Nicosia is the capital; it lies in the midst of Cyprus, under the mountains, at the most level spot, and under the best and healthiest climate. In this town, because of the mildness and healthiness of its air, lives the king of Cyprus and all bishops and other prelates of the kingdom; and all other princes, counts, nobles, barons and knights for the most part, daily indulging in tourneys, feats of arms, and especially in hunting.... Also in Cyprus are princes, nobles, barons, knights, and citizens richer than in all the world. He who should possess a revenue of 3000 florins * would stand lower than he who in Germany should have three merks. They squander all on hunting. I knew a count of Jaffa who kept more than 500 hounds, and every couple of hounds, as the custom is, has an attendant to itself, to cleanse, bathe and salve them, as is very necessary there for hounds. So a noble has at least ten or eleven falconers.... From early morning to evening one hears rumours and news, and all speeches of the world are understood, spoken, and taught in special schools.... In Famagosta live a host of wealthy courtesans, some of whom possess more than 100,000 florins; but of their riches I venture to say no more."

It is probable that the good curate, accustomed to rudeness and poverty at his Westphalian home, where merks were not very plentiful, exaggerated a wealth which dazzled him. Indeed, we are in a position to test his statements and detect his exaggerations; for we possess an official list of the revenues of the landed proprietors of the

* The gold florin was equal in value to the sequin or ducat of Venice. Both contained about fifty-four grains Troy of pure gold, and so were worth intrinsically somewhat less than half-a-sovereign. Of course money was in that time more valuable, but to determine the true modern value of a florin of the fourteenth century is an insoluble problem. At this period the entire revenue of England did not very much exceed 150,000*l.* The merk was worth 13*s.* 4*d.* of the time, and equal intrinsically to about two of our sovereigns.

island, drawn up at the end of the fifteenth century for the use of the Venetian senate. From this list it appears that the wealthiest lord of Cyprus, George Cornaro, brother of the Queen, had a rent-roll of 7000 ducats; no other proprietor had an income of more than 3000 ducats. The average annual revenue of 120 of the richest persons in the island was about 480 ducats, a handsome income, no doubt, for the time, and probably greater than that of many an English nobleman, but still not so enormous as it seemed to the German church-mouse.

When the Frankish knights and the Venetian rulers passed away, they did not leave behind them those imperishable remains of roads, ports and aqueducts, which make the inhabitants of all countries which the Romans ever occupied bless the utilitarian character of their genius. Yet they left the island richer far than they found it. By the sixteenth century many products unknown at the Roman period increased the riches of Cyprus. Already in the reign of Justinian, the eggs of silk-worms were brought by monks from India, and Cyprus soon had a flourishing silk-manufacture. The European knights introduced into the island the fruit-trees of France and Italy; the sugar-cane was imported in crusading times from Arabia. The Knights of St. John found the wine of Cyprus capable of higher cultivation, and the improved kind of it is to this day called Commandaria, after them. The cotton-plant, which was raised from Persian seed, was first cultivated in Cyprus during the same period. There is in the island a tradition that the Venetians paid a sequin for every olive-tree planted. If, in addition to these improvements, we reckon the vast mass of splendid buildings left by the Lusignan princes, and requiring only to be kept in repair, we can scarcely doubt that her Frankish and Venetian masters deserved, on the whole, well of the island.

In the plains and the cities the present people of Cyprus are a race so mixed of Italian, Tatar, Syrian, and even Negro elements, as to have become a *caput mortuum*, whence no facts of ethnological value can be extracted. Among the mountains purer blood is said to prevail. In the Carpasian promontory of the north-east dwells a race fairer and stronger than the mass of the Cyprians, a race possibly of Teutonic blood.* But in the Olympus range of the south, in a valley near the site of the ancient Soli, Herr von Löher thinks that he has found true Greeks of tall and slight frame and statelier manners, and Mr. Hogarth is disposed to agree with him. No doubt in Cyprus the Greek element is largely present, as is proved by the persistence of Greek language, Greek customs, and, above all, of that charming closeness and affection of family life, which has preserved the Greek race, as it has preserved the Jewish, through centuries of tyranny and oppression. For ourselves, we are disinclined to think that the people who dwell in the mountains are necessarily of pure blood. They are freer, statelier, more manly, than the dwellers in plains; but that is the constant effect of mountain-life. Amid the mountains of the Morea we have ourselves lighted on colonies of stately, noble folk, whom the traveller could scarcely hesitate to take for remnants of the ancient Dorians, did not history positively assert that they are of Sclavonian stock. The Greek of the coast and the plain is not so fine a fellow as the mountaineer, but he is probably quite as much of a Greek.

Many traces of the ancient religion still linger or lately lingered in Cyprus. Aphroditissa was commonly regarded as a mere *alias* of the Virgin Mary, and this not by the ignorant only, but, as Ross assures us, sometimes by the priests themselves. Probably when the worship of the Virgin Mother was introduced into Cyprus, a tradition

* Compare Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 54.

still lingered of the *virgo coelestis* of the Sidonians, and facilitated the identification. A religious origin was until lately attributed to various conical stones erect in the ground with great holes through them, into which holes the young women of the island were said to break their glass jewellery on their marriage, or on being betrayed by their lovers; while old women repaired to the spot and burnt tapers in the hope of getting rid of their bodily ailments. Mr. Hogarth has, however, in his *Devia Cypria* (p. 48) supported the view that these stones are only the remains of old oil-presses. It is probable that the Primate of the island, who rejoices in the title of μακαριώτατος and has the right of signing his name in red ink, inherits influence and more solid privileges owing to the fact that his spiritual ancestor was the high-priest of Aphrodite, representative of Cinyras, and chief of the politically-powerful guild of the priests of Paphos.

However, our present concern is rather with the more substantial remains of ancient times in Cyprus: temples, statues, and jewelry. In all the Levant there are exaggerated notions abroad among the people as to the richness of buried treasures on the sites of ancient cities and temples. Nowhere are these notions deeper seated than in Cyprus. The traveller cannot explore any ruins, whether ancient or medieval, without being followed by half-a-dozen gaping natives, who watch every turn and every look in the hope of sharing the treasures which they make no doubt to be buried there, and which the stranger, by the help of his books, can surely find. For the belief there are good grounds. It is certain that in all times no field of archaeological research has yielded more precious results, if the preciousness is to be measured by money value, than Cyprus. But until lately the statues recovered were broken to pieces by the fanatical fury of iconoclastic Turks; while the objects in gold and silver, which were

probably plentiful, found their way at once to the melting-pot. Not until the year 1867 were systematic explorations attempted in the island.

In 1868 Mr. Lang, the English Consul in Cyprus, made extensive excavations at Dali, the ancient Idalium, a place situated in the hills a few hours north of Larnaca. He was rewarded by the discovery of a temple, in which stood in rows, each upon its proper pedestal, a vast quantity of votive statues in stone, of all sizes, and representing many different styles of art and ages of manufacture. In that part of the temple which Mr. Lang judged to be the oldest, these statues had sometimes an Egyptian, sometimes an Assyrian aspect. In the more recent parts a style appeared somewhat different from any to which we were accustomed, a style which was probably native, and peculiar to Cyprus. In addition, mingled with these, were what seemed to be copies of the early Assyrian and Egyptian statues, together with a few figures which bore unmistakable signs of manufacture in Macedonian and Roman times. Mr. Lang also found beneath the floor of the temple two treasures of coins, issued by the various Phoenician and Greek dynasts of Cyprus in the fifth century before our aera.

But by far the most valuable part of his spoil was a bilingual tablet containing Cyprian and Phoenician legends, which has proved the Rosetta Stone of the Cyprian language. It had long been known that the native legends in Cyprus were commonly written in a peculiar character, not so nearly resembling the Phoenician as the cuneiform of Assyria. This character had always defied interpretation; but it could no longer defy interpretation after the discovery of a bilingual tablet. A group of English scholars —Mr. Lang himself, Dr. Birch, and Mr. George Smith— may claim the credit of finding the clue to the mystery. The learned world was electrified by the discovery that beneath so barbarous and Oriental a character lay hid a

mere variety of Greek, expressed, not alphabetically, but syllabically. And the particular dialect of Greek which lies hid under these unfamiliar characters is declared by philologists to have closer relations with the Arcadian than with any other variety of Greek. Few facts more interesting than these, or fuller of historical suggestion, have come to light of late. In historic times the Arcadians were a secluded and unprogressive race, dwelling amid their mountains as herdsmen and ploughmen, and cut off from the sea on all sides, by a ring of flourishing Dorian and Achaean cities. The migration of Arcadians to Cyprus must have taken place while they still had access to the sea and were still in the ways of commerce and migration. According to a Latin tradition it was Arcadians who under Evander settled at the foot of the Palatine Hill, and brought something of Greek culture into nascent Rome: and it is evident that this tradition receives fresh force from the Cyprian parallel. Dr. Dümmler* remarks that we must suppose the Cyprian migration to have taken place long before the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus; perhaps when the Achaeans first came into that district. It does not, however, appear that such a view is justified. Tradition places the colonies of Italy and of Cyprus alike in the time of the Trojan war; and it is far more likely that they were part of the general unsettling which resulted from the Dorian irruption. In any case it is quite clear that the Greek colonists who went to Cyprus took with them no Phoenician alphabet; and that when the example of neighbouring nations opened their eyes to the advantages of a written language, it was not to the mainland of Greece that they turned for letters, nor even to their powerful neighbours of Phoenicia; but rather to their kinsfolk of Asia Minor. We learn from slight but important remains that in southern Asia Minor there was a large group of languages which

* *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 1886, p. 256.

were more or less cousins of Greek, Phrygian, Lycian, Pamphylian, Cilician, which used alphabets of their own, in some cases not based on the Phoenician, but having closer relation to the Assyrian, or perhaps the Hittite characters. We may best regard the Cyprian alphabet as one of this little known class.

It is much to be regretted that the period of excavation which opened so auspiciously with the discovery of the Cyprian language has not been so successful as regards the language of Cyprian art. In this matter misfortune has succeeded misfortune. The value of Cyprian antiquities has caused the country to be ruthlessly exploited, and some of the excavators seem to have had neither the wish to benefit historical science, nor the necessary knowledge.

The diggings of General Louis Palma di Cesnola began in 1866, and were pursued for many years, with the result of amassing the treasures which adorn the Metropolitan Museum of New York. He claims to have opened fifteen thousand tombs, and to have lighted on the treasure-house of a temple. His account of his work* is elaborate and well-illustrated, and should be a mine of information as to the art and archaeology of Cyprus. Perrot, in his valuable *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* has trusted to it. But it has been fully established, by the careful investigations of a number of subsequent explorers, that Cesnola's methods of excavation were so unscientific, his records of them so incorrect, his statements so fanciful and untrustworthy, that the whole book must be set aside as misleading and worthless. A great opportunity has been missed, and harm of a quite irreparable character done to the cause of history. Louis di Cesnola's depredations were followed by those of his brother Alexander di Cesnola; and then succeeded a time in which licence to dig for ancient remains was granted by the English Government to the private

* *Cyprus; its cities, tombs, and temples*, 1877.

persons who applied for it. The result was an unfortunate scramble. Such sites as seemed to possess antiquities of monetary value were dug into, without much method and without record. The spoils were kept in private museums, or sold to the great national collections. And meantime little light was being brought to bear on such questions as the dates of various classes of remains; the topography of ancient cities, the plans of ancient temples. The materials of knowledge were being shipped out of the island in abundance, but knowledge was not distilled from them; and it seemed as if ignorance were likely to retain for ever the field of Cyprian antiquity. At the same time we must give credit to the few who did what they could for science. Mr. T. B. Sandwith wrote a useful paper on Cyprian pottery for the Society of Antiquaries in 1878; in 1886 Dr. Dümmler published some useful but rather speculative papers on Cyprian tombs in the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, and Mr. Ohnefalsch Richter has from time to time published in various periodicals fragmentary accounts of the excavations which he has conducted, mainly in the interest of private persons. Mr. Paul Hermann's work also, *Das Gräberfeld von Marion*, is in many ways valuable, though the proportion of theory in it to fact is excessive, and the writer does not speak from personal experience of the excavation.

We are bound to stop a moment to make the reflection, however distasteful it may be, that perhaps the only civilised government which would have tolerated such proceedings is the English. All the other states of Europe are alive to the fact that the remains of antiquity are a valuable source of knowledge and culture, and require to be protected from cupidity. France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Greece, pay annually large sums to promote systematic excavation, and to secure a worthy record of them. Italy, Greece, and now even Turkey, assert the right of the state to appropriate and preserve not merely ancient buildings, but all ancient

works of art and records of history. England alone in her care for government and commerce takes insufficient care of historic remains; only the English proconsul cares for none of these things. Even from the political point of view it is a mistake. Those who know the Levant tell us that we thus lose in general estimation. France has made of her long-established interest in the antiquities of Egypt, a political weapon of no little strength. Germany owes no small part of German prestige at Athens to the state endowment and the vigour of the German Archaeological School in that city. But it seems that nothing can alter the fixed opinion of successive English Governments that learning and historical science can quite well take care of themselves, and that a government's great concerns are material order and material wealth: or if education, only education of the lowest grade. Thus while established institutions like the British and South Kensington Museums are fairly well supported, any suggestion to give a grant to a new institution such as the British School of Athens, or a new cause such as that of excavation at home or abroad, is referred to the generosity of a public, out of which it seems impossible to extract money for archaeological purposes, except on the smallest scale.

It is to be hoped that better days are arrived, since three years ago the High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir H. Bulwer, put a stop to private digging: and the Cyprus Exploration Fund was formed in London in order to conduct excavations in methodical order. For the last three winters young archaeologists from Oxford and Cambridge have been at work on the sites of Paphos, of Arsinoe and of Salamis, and have published their results in systematic form in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Their main hindrance has been smallness of funds. While German excavators at Olympia and French excavators at Delphi have only to consider how best to make their work thorough

and scientific, our countrymen, members of the richest country in the world, are stopped at every turn by material considerations. Here their work is limited by a piece of land which they cannot afford to buy; there the trenches have to be stopped because they do not promise results tangible enough to gratify the subscribers. The aid of experts in architecture or engineering has to be dispensed with because it cannot be paid for; and so forth. It is no wonder that English exploration cannot compare with that of other countries in all respects in which money is the reigning factor.

Although the very outlines of Cyprian archaeology are as yet not finally settled, still it may be possible to sketch the problems which it presents. Hitherto nearly all excavation has been directed to the graveyards; and almost all that we know in regard to the early inhabitants of Cyprus we learn from their tombs. These tombs fall naturally into three classes: (1) primitive, (2) Phoenician, (3) Graeco-Roman. Of each class we will briefly treat.

The graves called primitive are found mostly on sites in the interior of Cyprus, at Chytri, Alambra, Dali, and other places. They are too small to have held a human body unless in sitting posture; and the probability is that bodies before being placed in them were burned. With the body lie weapons, the spear and the dagger, but not the sword, and pottery of a rude kind with geometrical devices roughly scratched or painted on them. Among this rougher pottery sometimes lie relics which give us more information, in a few cases Babylonian cylinders, sometimes vessels of the Mycenaean class, which, as we have already seen, the researches of Mr. Petrie enable us to date to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. These graves may easily be distinguished from those of later times: but the ethnological enquiries which they suggest do not admit of any ready answer. Dr. Dümmler's view is that the forms

of vessels which occur in them indicate a relation to Hissarlik so close as to prove not merely connection, but identity of race. He conceives that one race was spread over Cyprus before the Phoenician invasion, and the coast of Asia Minor; and building on the appearance of statuettes in these tombs of the naked goddess who is supposed to be of Syrian origin, he claims this widely spread race as of Canaanite origin. And he supposes that it was subjugated or even destroyed in the island by the Phoenicians when at some period about the tenth century they came into it. This view harmonizes with that above accepted in regard to Phrygia. It is however not easy to distinguish from the graves of the primitive inhabitants, those of the earlier Greek settlers who built the cities of the coast. It is likely that in Cyprus true Greek style was of late introduction, and until it made its appearance the art and manufactures of the local Hellenes may not have greatly differed from those of the natives. Only in the later of these graves we find pottery of the Mycenaean class.

Coming down to a later period, when we gain the help of coins and of inscriptions, our facts become clearer. It appears, as history would lead us to expect, that Citium was the centre of Phoenician influence in the island. We possess a series of coins belonging to the fifth and fourth centuries before our aera issued by Phoenician kings of Citium; and in the graves of Citium down even to the Roman age Phoenician remains are prominent. On the other hand the graves of Salamis, as well as the coins of its rulers, show a strong Hellenic tendency, perhaps we can scarcely venture to say a marked Hellenic character. Idalium, which we should have supposed to belong to the Phoenician group of cities, seems on the contrary to have been predominantly Hellenic: this is shown especially by the testimony of coins and of the celebrated tablet of Idalium which records the honours bestowed on a

physician named Onesilus, which is written in Greek and which mentions as king of Idalium Stasicyprus and as magistrate Philocyprus. The names of the Priests of Paphos also during Persian dominion seem to be Greek. But both Phoenician and Greek remains are strongly overlaid with another element which seems to be native to Cyprus; so that it would appear that the island must occupy a separate place in archaeology.

It is however obvious that we cannot here speak in detail of the archaeological data furnished us by all the cities of Cyprus: we must content ourselves with a brief notice of recent excavations on the two sites of Paphos and Salamis.

The first excavation carried out by the Cyprus Exploration Committee was on the site of Paphos. Few temples were more noted in antiquity than that of the Cyprian Aphrodite or Vanassa; if Salamis was the political centre of the island, Paphos was its religious centre; and there was concentrated all that Cyprus had to impart to the world of hope and belief; no high lesson at best, it is to be feared. In the spring of 1888 Mr. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Hogarth, and other archaeologists set to work to lay bare the plan of this temple, the arrangements of which are now known to us. The evidence of excavation, so far as it has yet been carried on the site, seems to confirm our previous conjectures. Aphrodite at Paphos seems not to have dwelt like Zeus at Olympia and Athena at Athens, in one of those stately Hellenic temples, adorned without with the compositions of great sculptors, and within with innumerable dedicated works of art, which were built like caskets to hold the great statues which embodied all that was loftiest and most charming in Greek religion. The representation of the Paphian goddess was no masterpiece of Pheidias or Praxiteles, but a cone without human form, a sure indication of the antiquity

of her worship on the spot. The abode of the goddess also was comparatively mean, and its composition shows that it perpetuated to Greek and Roman times arrangements due to less civilised races. The plan* of it published by the excavators shows a somewhat bewildering medley of chambers, some earlier and some later; and they leave it uncertain whether the sacred cone stood in one of these chambers or in the open court. It seems very probable that the abode of the goddess commonly represented on Cyprian coins† is not the temple itself, but rather a smaller shrine built round the the cone. It bears a singularly close resemblance to a shrine in gold leaf found by Schliemann in one of the graves at Mycenae,‡ which must be at least 1200 years older than the coins. So unchanged through centuries and millennia do the forms consecrated by Oriental religion persist!

The excavations carried on last winter on the site of Salamis by Messrs. Munro and Tubbs have scarcely availed to give us any satisfactory notion of the arrangement and plan of the city; but they have at least revealed to us some sites in it, and shown how much of that city still exists under a layer of sand. It is clear that a systematic course of excavation would bring to light very extensive and important remains of the Greek metropolis of Cyprus, would indeed probably show us more of a Greek city than has ever yet been discovered. Mr. Tubbs speaks of Salamis as almost offering a parallel to Herculaneum and Pompeii. If Cyprus were in the hands of any other European power it is likely that government excavations would soon add largely to our historic knowledge of

* This plan was made on the spot by Mr. R. Elsey Smith, and is published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1888, p. 193.

† l. c. pp. 210, 212; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 628.

‡ *Mycenae*, p. 267.

Cyprus and of the Levant generally. But such excavations would require large sums of money, and it is found impossible in our country to procure such sums. If hereafter Cyprus falls into the hands of the Greeks, they will probably soon show how far more active and efficacious is their love of archaeological knowledge than is that of England.

It is clear that although the civilisation of Salamis was in essence Hellenic, yet it had a strongly marked character of its own. Coins, which so often give an accurate picture of the growth and decay of the Greek commonwealths, reflect well the phases of the story of Salamis. Previous to the reign of the great Evagoras they bear as type a ram, and inscriptions in Cypriote Greek. For the mere heraldic device of a ram Evagoras substitutes beautiful representations of the Greek Herakles, and amid the Cyprian inscriptions we find in some cases ordinary Greek letters. Under the successors of Evagoras Greek mythological types, Zeus, Pallas, and Aphrodite, become usual, and by the end of the fourth century the Greek alphabet has supplanted the Cyprian in inscriptions.

The new discoveries take us further back, to a time when Salamis was still under eastern rather than western influence. Especially important are a series of terra-cotta figures now added to the riches of the British Museum, which merit a careful comparison with the sculptured remains of Assyria and Persia; bearded men adorned with abundant jewelry and clad in flowing Oriental garments, the rich patterns of which, in arrangement like the painted devices of early Greek vases, give them a singularly vivid look. It is evident that before the days of Marathon and Plataea the flowing wave of Asiatic influence had fairly engulfed the Greeks of Cyprus, whose soft and pleasure-loving disposition rendered them little fit to resist conquest

whether by arms or arts. Then by degrees the tide was thrust back; and Greek influence in politics and commerce, in art and manufacture, slowly made way in the island until under the Ptolemies it became an integral part of the Hellenistic world.

The most interesting problem offered by Cyprian excavation to the student of art is that presented by the statues made in local limestone, and found in great abundance in many parts of the island. Images in terra-cotta may have been, at least in many cases, imported; but these stone figures were certainly shaped in the island itself. They form a group apart amid all the remains of antiquity, and they reflect alike the character of the Cyprian race and the nature of their surroundings. The fatal facility of the material combined with the indolence of the worker to produce a superficial result. Neither from within nor from without came the striving to labour out results. As M. Perrot has well pointed out, in none of these figures do we find any serious study of nature, in none do we find the attempt to represent either movement or emotion. There is not even any attempt at the portraiture of individuals. The rich robes and the abundant jewelry of the natives are represented rather than themselves. It is not strange that an art so languid imitated the style of any one of the more living arts of the nations round.

When we consider the contents of a temple such as that found at Dali by Mr. Lang, or the Cyprian statues of the British Museum, the Louvre, or the Museum of New York, a question naturally rises:—

Are these remains in the temples of Cyprus really a store gradually accumulated in the course of long ages; the objects of Assyrian design dating from the times of Assyrian supremacy, the articles of Egyptian design actually made in the age when Egypt was mistress of

Cyprus—and so on with the rest? Or were the treasures accumulated in a comparatively short period, and made by artists who had the custom to copy styles used in various countries? In studying the course of Cyprian art-manufacture, are we to interpret it on the analogy of a stream which flows straight down past point after point, or are we to interpret it on the analogy of an eddy which turns again and again, and runs in all directions within the space of a few feet?

This question would be much simplified if we could tell, to begin with, whether in attempting it we are to use the Hellenic or the Phoenician analogy. The history of Greek art we know; we can trace it from stage to stage, through archaism, the transition, the period of full development, and the period of decline. The properly-trained student of Greek art will seldom hesitate to what century to give a statue or a gem; while the date of objects of very marked style can be fixed with still greater precision to a particular province, almost a particular decade. But in regard to the art of Oriental countries, the same precision cannot by any means be attained. And with regard to Phoenician art, in particular, we find ourselves in quite a different order of things. Of course it is quite possible that future discoveries and investigations may afford us far more light than we possess as yet on the subject of Phoenician art. But as far as we can judge at present, it would appear that the Phoenicians had no style of art peculiar to themselves. In all the works which can be with the greatest probability assigned to them, we find nothing but copies, of various degrees of goodness or badness, of Assyrian and Egyptian and Greek originals. Assyrian reliefs they copy, but confuse the elements; Egyptian hieroglyphics they imitate, but evidently without understanding them. There may have been a time when they were swayed by Egyp-

tian influence alone, before the Assyrians reached the shores of the Mediterranean; but it is certain that after that time on many of their works of art we find Egyptian and Assyrian representations and emblems mingled in the most intricate and the most confusing way. Phoenician artists seem to have copied at random all reliefs and figures which they anywhere saw, certainly not without considerable taste in grouping and great ability in execution, but quite dropping all definite meaning. It is quite clear, then, that their habits make a classification of their works by date quite impossible, at least in the present state of our knowledge: for a Phoenician artist might introduce on the same patera or vase copies of Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs differing in date one from the other by a thousand years. Thus it would seem that the course of Greek art was like a stream; that of Phoenician art like an eddy. Are we to class Cyprian art with the Greek or with the Phoenician?

We cannot doubt that Phoenician influence was earlier than Greek in Cyprus, and for ages stronger. The history of its gradual retrocession into the second place is obscure, and can be only very partially recovered. We know from the writers, and the unimpeachable evidence of coins, that in the fifth century B.C. there was a strong Phoenician dynasty ruling at Citium; and we are told that Evagoras had to wrest the sceptre of Salamis from Phoenician grasp. Amathus remained, as its tombs testify, Semitic; but with the foundation of the Greek city of New Paphos, Phoenician influence must have begun to wane at Old Paphos. The Phoenicians probably strongly held the south coast about their two great cities until the time of Alexander the Great, but had by that time lost influence over the remainder of the island.

In spite of the occasional landing of Athenian forces in Cyprus, the Greeks of the island were not strongly under

the influence of their brethren in Hellas, and developed to a great extent on a course of their own. They were far more influenced than their compatriots by Phrygian traditions and religion, which must have had a strong hold on the island before the foundation of Salamis and Soli, and by the semi-Assyrian civilisation which had spread overland to the coast and to Asia Minor. The native Cyprian alphabet furnishes distinct and incontrovertible proof by its very existence how far Cyprus lay from the stream of Greek progress, and by the forms of its letters indicates a connection with Lycians, Pamphylians, and other semi-Greek peoples of Southern Asia Minor. In the style of his sarcophagi General Louis di Cesnola sees rightly a somewhat close likeness to the style of Lycian reliefs. Under these circumstances, we should be prepared to find in use among the non-Phoenician people of Cyprus a native style for statues and ornament, a style partly Greek, partly Asiatic, partly peculiar. And we should expect this style, while on the whole moving forward, to have relapses and episodes, and not to show consistent or vigorous development. Such expectations are on the whole fulfilled. It would be of little use to discuss Cyprian art in more detail in the absence of engravings to make our remarks clear. We must quit our subject with the hope that when history weighs the character of British rule in Cyprus it will appear that we have done our duty to the people of the island better than we have done our duty to the existing remains of its ancient inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII.

NAUCRATIS, AND THE GREEKS IN EGYPT.

SINCE the bombardment of Alexandria by the English fleet, learned excavators, equipped by the Egypt Exploration Fund, have been at work in the Delta; and from their labours important discoveries have resulted in both Biblical and Classical geography. M. Naville has determined the position of Pithom-Succoth, the first station of the Jewish exodus, as well as of the capital of the Land of Goshen. Mr. Petrie has identified the palace of Pharaoh at Tahpanhes, a spot very notable in the story of the later Jewish Captivity; and has further discovered and excavated, with the help of Mr. Ernest Gardner, the site of Naucratis,* the meeting-point in the seventh century B.C., of Egyptian and Greek, and the fulcrum by which the enterprising Hellenic race brought the power of their arms and of their wits to bear on the most ancient and venerable empire in the world. We must leave it to others to speak of the gains thus resulting to Biblical archaeology; our intention is to sketch in the light of the newly-discovered facts the relations between the ancient Greeks and Egyptians down to the final establishment of a Greek dynasty in Egypt.

Whether the first contact between Egyptian and Greek

* *Naukratis*, Part I. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1886. Part II. By Ernest A. Gardner, 1888.

can be traced so far back as the thirteenth century before the Christian era is the subject of a notable controversy. On the walls of the temple at Medinet Abu is painted a wonderful record of invasions of Egypt by great allied armies coming from the north, a record which, for completeness and vigour, is surpassed only by the memorable tapestry of Bayeux, which records the Norman invasion of England. But the fate of Egypt's invaders was not that of the Normans; they are said to have been defeated successively by the warlike Pharaohs Menephthah II. and Rameses III., and either slain or reduced to slavery. Of their ships, their arms, and their ethnological character the wall-paintings give us a vivid representation, and their nationalities are reported in the hieroglyphic text which runs with the scenes of conflict and triumph. Nevertheless the best authorities are not agreed as to who the invading armies were and whence they came. There is no doubt that their main force consisted of Libyans, but with the Libyans came as allies other races, Pulosata, Tekkari, Danaü, Shardana, Leku, Turisha, and Akaiuasha. Wiedemann considers that all these races dwelt near the frontiers of Egypt; Brugsch identifies them with the peoples of Asia Minor, the Teucri, Lycians, Sardians, and the like; while Chabas and Lenormant incline to spread them over a still wider area, and regard the invading army as a great confederacy drawn from the northern and eastern shores of the Aegean Sea by the hope of conquest and plunder. Certainly the theory that the contingents called those of the Danaü and Akaiuasha consisted of Danaans and Achaeans, and so of men of Hellenic race is very tempting, and is as yet by no means disproved.

But in any case, military or piratical expeditions would not bring the Greeks into permanent contact with the art, the civilisation, and the politics of the Egyptians: to be

really formative, intercourse between nations must be peaceful and leisurely.

Most of us are familiar with the delightful tale of Herodotus, which narrates how Psammitichus, one of the chiefs among whom Egypt was divided in the middle of the seventh century B.C., became an object of suspicion to his neighbours, and how they drove him out as an exile into the Delta; how an oracle informed him that he should be set on the throne of Egypt by bronze men from the sea, and how these bronze auxiliaries appeared in the persons of Ionian and Carian sea-farers clad in armour, who did really win for the exile a way to the throne of the Pharaohs. And however much the critical writers of the new school, such as Wiedemann, and Sayce, and Busolt, may warn us against the moralising tendencies and imperfect information of Herodotus, men will always find a difficulty in doubting the truth of his stories. For ourselves, we are often disposed to take the part of Herodotus against modern criticism, which is apt to err through supposing that people in ancient days always acted reasonably, and valued motives according to the scale of Bentham. Even Wiedemann, though possessed of admirable judgment, is inclined to reject those stories of Herodotus in which oracular responses play a leading part, and we cannot think that he is justified in so doing; with moderns, reasons of state would outweigh the worth of an oracular response; but we know for certain that among the less advanced of the Greeks, such as Lacedaemonians and Megarians, oracular advice would outweigh any reasons of expediency, and there seems every reason to suppose that the same frame of mind would prevail in the barbarian kings, who at the dawning of Greek history had learned to value the advice of the Hellenic Zeus and Apollo as delivered at their oracles.

We know, indeed, from monumental evidence* that Psammitichus reigned as colleague of the last Ethiopian king of Egypt, Nut-Amen, and presumably succeeded him, but it can scarcely be doubted that he had great difficulty in making his nominal supremacy real. Whether he was led by an oracle, or by any other inducement, to seek the friendship of the Greeks and Carians, we are justified by a passage in Strabo in supposing that the Milesians were among his most important allies. Strabo says that in the time of Psammitichus, whom he rightly states to have been contemporary with Cyaxares the Mede, the Milesians sailed with thirty ships into the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile, and erected a small fortress; and that afterwards they sailed up to the Saitic nome, and vanquished in a sea-fight one Inaros, after which they founded Naucratis. Now the only Inaros mentioned in history is the Libyan king, who about B.C. 460 tried to wrest Egypt from the Persians. But he was an ally, not an enemy of the Greeks, and in his days Miletus existed only in ruins; it is therefore certain that the Inaros whom the Milesians vanquished must have been a different ruler. As he does not appear in the Egyptian dynastic lists, we may be almost sure that he was a chief at the time of disintegration which preceded the final establishment of Psammitichus, when a multitude of petty potentates divided among them the land of the Pharaohs. Doubtless he was one of the rivals whom the Greek and Carian allies of Psammitichus put down for him. Far from thinking, with Mr. Petrie, that this passage of Strabo is to be set aside as useless, we regard it as the simplest and strongest testimony as to the date of the earliest Greek settlement in Egypt. If with Wiedemann we fix the

* Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte* (1884) p. 597. A stone at Boulak bears side by side the cartouches of Nut-Amen and of Psammitichus I.

accession of Psammitichus at B.C. 664, we shall regard the building of the Milesian fortress as having taken place before B.C. 670, and the first settlement of Naucratis as dating from about B.C. 660.

This is the time assigned by Herodotus and Strabo for the earliest intercourse between Egypt and Hellas. And that this was the beginning of Greek knowledge of the Nile country, is fully confirmed by all the archaeological evidence which bears upon the matter, both the negative evidence and the positive.

When Egypt became accessible to Greek travellers, they crowded to behold its wonders, and we can easily understand how the vast size and venerable antiquity of the buildings of the Pharaohs would overpower the lively imaginations of the visitors, and how the fixity and order of Egyptian society would impress them. We moderns can see that a Greek in Memphis or Thebes as much represented a higher race and a nobler order of ideas, as a Spaniard in Mexico, or an Englishman in Canton. With him lay the future, with the Egyptians only the past; while they were sinking into decay, he was just starting on his great career as master for all time in science and art. But in the seventh century before our era this was not so clear as it is now. The Greeks called the Egyptians barbarians, but that term had not yet acquired the haughty meaning which filled it at a later date. So when the Egyptian priests dwelt on the antiquity of their civilisation, and told the Greek travellers that in its presence they were like children before a venerable master, we cannot wonder that the strangers felt abashed. When Hecataeus of Miletus was rash enough to boast in the temple at Egyptian Thebes that his sixteenth ancestor was a god, the priests led him into an inner sanctuary, and showed him three hundred and forty-one statues of high-priests who had borne sway for

life in successive generations, and told him that since that series began the gods had not walked the earth or begotten mortal men. Solon, wisest of the Greeks, is represented in the *Timaeus* of Plato as having been gently set down by an aged Egyptian priest: "You Greeks, Solon, are ever boys, and there is no old man among you; you are young in mind, for you have no ancient belief handed down by long tradition, and no doctrine hoary with age."

It is natural then that with minds thus cowed and overshadowed by the vast age of all they found in Egypt, the Greeks should have been ready to believe all that was told them by the priests as to the derivation of the Greek gods and Greek rites and customs from the land of the Pharaohs. Herodotus is entirely vanquished. "The names of the gods came to Greece from Egypt." "The Egyptians were earliest among men in introducing religious assemblies and processions and set prayers, and the Greeks learned of them." "The customs I have mentioned, and others which I shall mention hereafter, the Greeks took from the Egyptians." And later writers, such as Diodorus and Plutarch, speak in the same strain. They pass at once from a conviction of the greater antiquity of Egyptian civilisation to a belief that the Greeks must have borrowed from the people of Egypt those cults and those customs which were alike in the two peoples.

So long as the Egyptian language was unknown and the early history of the country lay in darkness, modern writers not unnaturally adopted this view; and the French savants who accompanied to Egypt the army of Bonaparte went with an eager expectation that they would find in the land of the pyramids the source alike of the religions and of the civilisation of antiquity. They hoped to find the origin not only of the laws of Solon,

but also of those of Moses, and to prove that the earliest civilisation in the world was also one of the wisest and most fruitful. It is hardly necessary to say that the reading of the hieroglyphic texts, combined with the progress of the historical sciences, has put an end to all such sanguine anticipations. We now know that, high as was the development of Egyptian civilisation in certain directions, it was by no means the fertile mother of other civilisations; rather, like that of China, a complete and fully developed growth, but not in the main line of human progress. All modern writers are agreed that religious cults and national customs are exactly what the Greeks did not borrow from Egypt, any more than the Hebrews borrowed thence their religion, or the Phoenicians their commerce. All are agreed that before the reign of Psammitichus and the founding of Naucratis, Egypt was a sealed book to the Greeks. It is likely that the Phoenicians, who were from time to time the subjects of the Pharaohs, were admitted, where aliens like the Greeks were excluded. We have indeed positive evidence that the Egyptians did not wish strange countries to learn their art, for in a treaty between them and the Hittites it is stipulated that neither country shall harbour fugitive artists from the other. But however the fact may be accounted for, it is an undoubted fact that long before Psammitichus threw Egypt open to the foreigner, the Phoenicians had studied in the school of Egyptian art, and learned to copy all sorts of handiwork procured from the valley of the Nile. This is proved not only by the excavations in Greece, but by the results of Sir Henry Layard's investigations at Nimrud, where many Phoenician bowls of Egyptising style were found in the north-west palace, as well as by the results of M. Renan's mission to Phoenicia.

What kind of influence it was which, after the build-

ing of Naucratis, Egyptian civilisation exercised upon Greek beliefs and laws and arts, we shall presently consider; for the present we will resume the thread of Egyptian history, which exhibits the other phase of the connection, the influence of Greek character and valour on the political fortunes of the valley of the Nile.

Psammitichus made his birthplace, Saïs, the capital of Egypt. All the country had greatly suffered in the wars with the fierce and brutal Assyrians, and the ancient capitals Memphis and Thebes were greatly reduced; but this was not the only reason for passing them by in favour of a site in the Delta. The fatal step of calling in armed strangers compelled Psammitichus, after becoming king, still to lean on their support. He attracted to Egypt large bodies of Carian and Ionian mercenaries, and settled them at Daphnae, on the Pelusian branch of the Nile, a spot well chosen as an outpost against possible invasion from Asia. Here the new-comers occupied fortified camps on both sides of the river. Herodotus says that the King entrusted to them certain Egyptian children to bring up, and that these became the parents of the entire caste of interpreters, who in the next age became the intermediaries between Greek and Egyptian. If the mercenaries came, as was probable, without wife or child, it is likely that Egyptian women were assigned to them, and that a large number of half-breeds arose, of whom a separate caste would naturally be formed by the exclusive and stranger-hating dwellers by the Nile: indeed we are inclined to interpret in this way the statement of Herodotus.

Mr. Petrie has made on the site of Daphnae* some excavations which have led to interesting results from many points of view. He found the site of the camps, and in the soil of them weapons and horse-gear. He also found

* *Tanis, Nebesheh and Defenneh.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1888.

the foundations of a fort, beneath the corners of which were placed, according to the Egyptian custom, foundation deposits recording the name of the builder of it, The name is in this case Psammitichus; a fact entirely confirming Mr. Petrie's views. But the place was not only a military outpost, it also became a Greek settlement; this is proved alike by the quantity of early Hellenic pottery found on the site, and by the statement of Herodotus that in his time the docks used by the inhabitants still existed in ruins, for docks imply trade. Amasis, as we shall presently see, removed the Greeks from Daphnae and put an Egyptian garrison in their place, which again had given way in Herodotus' time to a Persian garrison; the rulers of Egypt, whoever they were, had to maintain here an outpost against the fierce Bedawin tribes of Syria. We can thus date the Greek colony at Daphnae as having lasted from about B.C. 664 to about 570; and it is a great gain to be able to assign with confidence all the objects found at Daphnae to this one century.

Egypt seems at once to have recovered some prosperity under the new ruler with his new allies. Temples of the gods arose, or were restored, on all sides, as we learn from many a dedicatory inscription still preserved. And it is interesting to find in the art of the Saïte kings a marked new impulse. At this period, writes Wiedemann, in sculptured figures "the proportions of the body grow slimmer and more shapely, the muscles are worked out with greater naturalism. The features of the face, even the hair, shows a treatment careful in the smallest detail, and in the modelling of the ear and nose especially we may discern the industry and talent of the artists." And the new impulse was not less visible in arms than in art. After securing Egypt from invasion, by fixing strong garrisons on its eastern, western, and southern borders,

Psammitichus marched with his native army and his Greek allies into Syria. Ashdod was taken after a long siege, and inscriptions found at Aradus and Tyre prove that all Palestine fell at this time into the hands of the Pharaohs. But a still more powerful invader came from the north; the dreaded and destructive host of the Cimmerians poured down into Syria, burning and slaying like the Mongol hordes of later times. Psammitichus was fain to retire; he is said to have bought his safety with money, and perhaps, but for his castle of Daphnae, the plague of human locusts might have followed him to the banks of the Nile.

According to Herodotus and Diodorus, the favour shown to the Greeks by the King was the cause of a great revolt of the native Egyptian troops, who left the frontier-fortresses, and marched south beyond Elephantine, where they settled, resisting all the entreaties of Psammitichus, who naturally deplored the loss of the mainstay of his dominions, and developed into the race of the Sebridae. Wiedemann, however, rejects the whole story as unhistorical, and certainly, if we closely consider it, it contains great inherent improbabilities. Even among a people naturally so unwarlike as the Egyptians, a great revolt of troops, and the march of an armed force from end to end of Egypt, could scarcely take place without some fighting.

Psammitichus died in B.C. 610, and was succeeded by his son Necho, who was his equal in enterprise and vigour. This King paid great attention to the fleet of Egypt, and Greek shipwrights were set to work on both the Mediterranean and Red Seas to build triremes for the State navy. A fleet of his ships, we are told, succeeded in sailing round Africa, a very great feat for the age. The King even attempted the task, of which the completion was reserved for the Persian Darius, the

Ptolemies, and Trajan, of making a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. Herodotus says that, after sacrificing the lives of 120,000 men to the labour and heat of the task, he gave it up, in consequence of the warning of an oracle that he was toiling only for the barbarians. It is an easy task with Wiedemann to suggest reasons for its abandonment of a more political and statesmanlike character, such as a wish to stop the waste of human life, or a fear which in such cases has at all periods of history terrified engineers, that the levels of the two seas might prove quite different, and that the waters might make a breach over the land. But, after all, we have no reason for assuming that a Pharaoh would always act from motives which we would approve, and the simplest plan is to take the story as it stands, perhaps with a grain of salt.

Necho, like his father, must needs try the edge of his new weapon, the Ionian mercenaries, on Asia. At first he was successful. Josiah, King of Judah, came out against him, but was slain, and his army dispersed. Greek valour carried Necho as far as the Euphrates, and in gratitude the King dedicated to Apollo in the temple of the Branchidae at Miletus the linen cuirass which he wore. But Nebuchadnezzar, son of the King of Babylon, marched against the invaders, and defeated them in a great battle near Carchemish. His father's death recalled him to Babylon, and Egypt was for the moment saved from counter-invasion by the stubborn resistance offered to the Babylonian arms by Jehoiakim, King of Judah, a resistance fatal to the Jewish race; for Jerusalem was captured after a long siege, and most of the inhabitants carried into captivity.

Of Psammitichus II., who succeeded Necho, we should know but little were it not for the archaeological record. Herodotus only says that he attacked Ethiopia, and died

after a reign of six years. But of the expedition thus summarily recorded we have a lasting and memorable result in the well-known inscriptions written by Rhodians and other Greek mercenaries on the legs of the colossi at Abu Simbel in Nubia, which record how certain of them came thither in the reign of Psammitichus, pushing up the river in boats as far as it was navigable, that is, perhaps, up to the second cataract. The importance of these inscriptions to the history of Greek epigraphy is well known; but their testimony had hitherto lost much of its force, because it could not be finally determined whether they belonged to the reign of the first or second Psammitichus. Of late most scholars have agreed with Wiedemann in assigning them to the later monarch; and the excavations at Naucratis seem to prove definitely that this view is right. Mr. Ernest Gardner, who publishes with accuracy the numerous Greek inscriptions which were found at Naucratis, proves that many of them are of considerably earlier date than the inscriptions of Abu Simbel. As the earliest Naucratic inscriptions, however, cannot date from an earlier time than the reign of the first Psammitichus, when Naucratis was founded, it is certain that the Abu Simbel inscriptions must belong to the reign of the second king of that name.

Apries, the Hophra of the Bible, was the next king. The early part of his reign was marked by successful warfare against the Phoenicians and the peoples of Syria; but, like his predecessor, he was unable to maintain a footing in Asia in the face of the powerful and warlike Nebuchadnezzar. The hostility which prevailed between Egypt and Babylon at this time, caused King Apries to open a refuge for those Jews who fled from the persecution of Nebuchadnezzar. He assigned to their leaders, among whom were the daughters of the King of Judah, a palace of his own at Daphnae, "Pharaoh's house at

Tahpanhes," as it is called by Jeremiah. That prophet was among the fugitives, and uttered in the palace a notable prophecy (xliii. 9) that King Nebuchadnezzar should come and spread his conquering tent over the pavement before it. Formerly it was supposed that this prophecy remained unfulfilled, but this opinion has to be abandoned. Recently-discovered Egyptian and Babylonian inscriptions prove that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt as far as Syene, at which point a certain general named Hor claims to have stopped his advance. Mr. Petrie, while investigating the site of Daphnae, has found fresh evidence to the same effect. He has discovered the ruins of a royal palace built by Psammitichus I., which to this day, most curiously, bears the title of "the house of the Jew's daughter;" ruins which by their condition prove that the palace was destroyed by a hostile invader, in all likelihood by the Babylonian monarch. He has even found the square pavement on which, according to the Prophet, Nebuchadnezzar should set up his tent. There are few people who do not feel in the presence of facts like these that our grasp of many scenes of ancient history is becoming stronger, and our outlook clearer.

The fall of Apries was brought about by his ingratitude to the Greeks, and his contempt for the lives of his own subjects. He had formed the project of bringing under his sway the Greek cities of the Cyrenaica, at that time in a most wealthy and flourishing condition, prospering under the rule of the Battiad princes, and drawing within the circle of Hellenic commerce all the nomadic nations of Northern Africa. Apries despatched against Cyrene a large force; but the Cyreneans bravely defended themselves, and as the Egyptians on this occasion marched without their Greek allies, they were entirely defeated, and most of them perished by the sword, or in the deserts which separate Cyrene from Egypt. The defeated troops,

and their countrymen who remained behind in garrison in Egypt, imputed the disaster to treachery on the part of Apries, believing that he would willingly reduce the number of his Egyptian warriors in his partiality for their Greek allies. They revolted, and chose as their leader Amasis, a man of experience and daring. But Apries, though deserted by his subjects, hoped still to maintain his throne by Greek aid. At the head of thirty thousand Ionians and Carians he marched against Amasis. At Momemphis a battle took place between the rival kings and between the rival nations; but the numbers of the Egyptians prevailed over the arms and discipline of the mercenaries, and Apries was defeated and captured by his rival, who, however, allowed him for some years to retain the name of joint-king.

It is the best possible proof of the solidity of Greek influence in Egypt at this time that Amasis, though set on the throne by the native army after a victory over the Greek mercenaries, yet did not expel these latter from Egypt, but, on the contrary, raised them to higher favour than before. The troops which had been settled at Daphnae in the "Camps," he brought to Memphis to be his body-guard. Herodotus says that it was Amasis who gave Naucratis to the Greeks to settle in; this is incorrect, since the inscriptions found at Naucratis prove beyond a doubt that the city was in the possession of Greeks before the time of Psammitichus II.; but it may well be that Amasis accorded to the city special privileges, and laid the foundation of its great prosperity. Mr. Petrie's careful investigations enable us to conjecture what it was that Naucratis owed to the favour of Amasis, —the building of the Hellenion, of which we shall presently have to speak.

Amasis entered more fully than his predecessors into the stream of the history of the Levant. He conquered

Cyprus and the cities of Phoenicia, and he won victories over the Arabs. He won by wisdom what Apries had vainly sought by arms, a predominant influence in Cyrene; and a fair daughter of that city became his queen. He gave fresh impulse to the cutting of canals and the extension of agriculture, and we are told that in his day there were in Egypt twenty thousand flourishing cities, a statement which seems to be an exaggeration. To him was ascribed the promulgation of the law, that every year each dweller in Egypt should report to the ruler of the district where he lived by what means he made a living, those who could make no satisfactory statement being condemned to death. This is among the earliest of recorded poor-laws, and it is certainly one of the most drastic; whether there was any relation between it and the flourishing condition of the country we cannot venture to say.

In the delightful dawn of connected European history we see Amasis as a wise and wealthy prince, ruling in Egypt at the time when Polycrates was tyrant of Samos; and when Croesus of Lydia, the richest king of his time, was beginning to be alarmed by the rapid expansion of the Persian power under Cyrus. We hear of Pythagoras visiting him and obtaining letters from him to the priests of Egypt, which induced them to communicate to that earliest of mystics some of their choicest secrets. Thales was also a welcome guest at the court of Amasis. We need not repeat the story, familiar in these days to children, of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates, and how Amasis broke off that friendship because he was convinced that some calamity impended over Polycrates. Wiedemann's version is that Amasis was afraid that he might be landed in difficulties, supposing that Polycrates should quarrel with his subjects; but we must confess that the German professor's explanation

seems to us uncomfortably modern, while the story of the ring of Polycrates suits admirably the whole mental and religious atmosphere of Greek antiquity. Critical historians are bound to make new theories in such a case; but the tale of Herodotus will outlive them all, and afford a starting-point for fresh theories a thousand years hence. The alliance of Amasis and Croesus must in any case be taken as a historical fact, for there were Egyptian troops, perhaps we should rather say a body of Egypto-Greek mercenaries, in the Lydian army when Cyrus defeated it; the Persian king especially noticed their valour, and gave them lands for settlement in Asia Minor, where their descendants dwelt in later times.

In the days of Psammitichus III., the son of Amasis, the storm which had overshadowed Asia broke upon Egypt. One of the leaders of the Greek mercenaries in Egypt named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, made his way to the Persian Court, and persuaded Cambyses, who, according to the story, had received from Amasis one of those affronts which have so often produced wars between despots, to invade Egypt in full force. In a battle fought at Pelusium about B.C. 525, the Egyptians and their Greek allies were utterly defeated by the Persian king, and this one victory laid Egypt at his feet. As the Persian conquest is the beginning of quite a new era in Egyptian history, and as it closes the time of the greatest prosperity of Naucratis, we will at this point interrupt our sketch of Egyptian history, in order to trace the fortunes of that city during the reigns of the Phil-hellenic monarchs of the Saïte line.

On the subject of the position of Naucratis there is distinct and irreconcilable contradiction between Ptolemy and the map of Peutinger on one side and Strabo on the other. The two former authorities place the city to the left (looking down the stream) of the Canobic branch of

the Nile, that is to say, outside the Delta enclosed by the Canobic and Pelusiac branches; while Strabo as clearly places the city within the Delta and on the right of the Canobic branch. Most modern writers had followed Strabo; but certainty would never have been attained, but for the spade. That useful instrument has settled the controversy:—

"It was by the merest accident," writes Mr. Petrie,* "that I got the clue to the site of Naucratis. An Arab at the Pyramids sold me an archaic Greek statuette, and, cross-questioning him, I heard of the place from which he had brought it. I visited the site as soon as I could, and found that the ground which the Arabs had cleared was strewn with pieces of early Greek pottery. When I went there to begin work this past season" (1884–5), "I saw at the very house where I obtained quarters a decree of the city of Naucratis which had been found in the ruins; and it only needed the results of our excavations to turn a hopeful probability into a certainty."

The site thus identified is at present on a canal to the west of the westernmost branch of the Nile; thus by the logic of facts Ptolemy is proved to be right and Strabo wrong.

On another point the correction of classical authorities is rather less conclusive. At present the site of Naucratis is on a canal which joins the Nile some miles off, while in many statements of ancient writers it seems to be implied that the city stood on the river itself. Mr. Petrie is at no loss for reasons why a canal would be a more satisfactory channel of communication with the outer world than a river.

"If Naucratis† had been on an open branch of the

* *Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1885, p. 15.
† *Ibid.*

river, it would have been almost unapproachable during the three months of the inundation. And then these three months were the most valuable of all for trade; since then the natives had nothing to do, the whole land being under water, and at the same time they had all the proceeds of the harvest lying by in hand. This was then the great time for the Greek traders; and when the villages stood out of the water like the islands of the Aegean, as Herodotus describes them, the Greek pedlars were doubtless pushing their fortunes actively in shallow boats, sailing from village to village."

Perhaps this argument, that a city on the Nile itself could not be approached during the inundation, must not be too much relied on, since almost all the cities of Egypt did stand on the Nile. And when Mr. Petrie goes on to cite Herodotus as a witness in favour of the position of Naucratis on a canal, he seems to us to misquote Herodotus. He writes, "Herodotus expressly says that, when the Nile was in flood, they sailed up from Naucratis to Memphis by the canal which flowed past the Pyramids, owing to the stream of the river being too strong against them." But what Herodotus really says (ii. 97) is quite different. "At this season (of inundation) boats no longer keep the course of the river but sail right across the plain. On the voyage from Naucratis to Memphis at this season, you pass close to the Pyramids, whereas the usual course is by the apex of the Delta." But though we cannot agree with Mr. Petrie's reasoning, he has his fact. The site of Naucratis is now on a canal, and must have been so originally, unless the course of the Nile has changed, which is scarcely unlikely.

By a close attention to the stratification of the remains of Naucratis, Mr. Petrie has recovered for us the outlines of the history of the city. The lowest stratum of all

is a bed of charcoal and ashes, which seems to be the result of a conflagration of a cluster of poor houses built in large part of wood. This village may have been the earliest settlement of the Greeks; but it seems to us equally probable that it may have been a native Egyptian village, or perhaps a settlement of Phoenicians, conquered and destroyed by the Milesians when they came to make a settlement in the land. The next stage of the history of Naucratis, corresponding almost to a certainty with the reign of Psammitichus I., has left us more distinct and solid memorials. Among these memorials must first be mentioned a large quantity of scarabs and moulds for scarabs, evidently the stock in trade of a maker of seals and amulets. Of these many bear the name of Psammitichus I., some those of Psammitichus II., and apparently of Apries. Here the series comes to an abrupt conclusion, and it would seem from the extent of the stock suddenly thrown away or buried, that the cessation of the factory must have been caused by some event which greatly disturbed the trade of Naucratis, perhaps, as Mr. Petrie suggests, the defeat of Apries' Greek mercenaries. We may observe in passing, that scarabs imitated from those of Egypt, and like those produced in the factory just mentioned, have been found in Rhodes, and on other Greek sites. They have always hitherto been supposed to be of Phoenician work, but in future archaeologists will be more inclined to regard them as imported from Naucratis.

To the same period as the factory of scarabs belongs the foundation of the earliest Greek temples of Naucratis. Of these several are mentioned in a well-known passage of Herodotus (ii. 178), who says that, beside the Hellenion, which belonged to the Greeks in common, the Aeginetans founded a temple of Zeus, the Samians one of Hera, and the Milesians one of Apollo. An

early temple of Aphrodite is also spoken of by Athenaeus (xv. 18). Of these temples the Hellenion and the temple of Apollo were found by Mr. Petrie in 1885; the temples of Hera and Aphrodite were discovered in 1886, when the excavations were continued by Mr. Ernest Gardner. A temple dedicated to the Dioscuri has also been discovered. Of the Hellenion we shall presently have to speak. The other temples mostly show proofs of early foundation and subsequent refoundation; of the successive temples of Apollo, a few fragments, interesting in point of architectural detail, have been preserved. All the temples, however, are very small; if we compare them with contemporary temples of the West or of Asia Minor, with the magnificent structures of Paestum, of Agrigentum, or of Ephesus, they will indeed seem mean. Their scale proves beyond question that we must not think of Naucratis, even when at the height of its fortunes, as of a great or wealthy city, but rather as of an emporium or trading-station, chiefly important as being the point at which the Greek and Egyptian civilisations met.

But time, which has destroyed all that was splendid in the temples of Naucratis, the marble pillars, the cultus-statues, the dedicated vessels of gold and silver, has made some amends by preserving to us their rubbish-heaps. It was the custom of the city that Greeks who entered Egypt by that way should dedicate to the patron deity under whose protection they voyaged a statuette or vessel of pottery in memory of a safe journey. On the object so dedicated they would inscribe the name of the donor. And as from time to time the temples became too full of these pious offerings, the temple officers would dig a trench and bury all that they judged to be superfluous, breaking them up for economy of space. Out of such trenches Mr. Petrie

and Mr. Gardner have extracted thousands of fragments of pottery, painted with figures, or inscribed with dedicatory formulae, besides many statuettes, mostly fragmentary also. To build up these fragments into vases, nearly or partly complete, has been a laborious task, of which the results can scarcely fail to be valuable. We have acquired a long series of inscriptions for the epigraphist; and for the archaeologist a quantity of vases, which can be dated by means of the inscriptions which they bear. And we have acquired a sort of visitor's album, a record of the Greeks who went to Egypt, from the foundation of the city under Psammitichus, down to the Persian conquest, when these dedicatory customs seem to have been discontinued. Among these is one name of no ordinary interest, that of Rhoecus, probably the same sculptor Rhoecus who was in antiquity spoken of as having worked in the Egyptian style, and who was at the same time, with his son Theodorus, one of the originators of the production in Greece of statues of divinities. In another case we have a possible autograph of Sappho,* whose brother, if not herself, is known to have journeyed to Naucratis. On one large vessel we read the name of Phanes, the son of Glaucus, whom we can scarcely be wrong in identifying with the Greek captain of mercenaries, who led Cambyses into Egypt.

It is a point which never can be finally settled, how much Amasis did for the Greeks of Naucratis, and in what light he really regarded them. The two statements of Herodotus — first, that he won his throne through Egyptian support and a victory over the Greeks; and secondly, that he was a great friend and patron of the Greeks,—seem at first sight to be discordant. Mr. Petrie endeavours with considerable ingenuity to reconcile them.

* *Naukratis*, Part I. p. 62, No. 532.

He maintains that the abolition of other Greek settlements in Egypt, and the concession of a monopoly of Greek trade to Naucratis, was really an act quite as agreeable to the conservative inhabitants of Egypt as to the people of Naucratis themselves. It confined the Greek traders within definite limits, and prevented them from forming settlements in the great Egyptian cities, where their business activity, their love of innovation, their curiosity and talkativeness, would render them very unpleasant. We may be quite sure, however, that unless the Greeks had in some way had the best of the bargain, they would not have formed of Amasis the very favourable opinion which Herodotus repeats. The likelihood is, that the King, being a wise and liberal-minded man, saw that the goodwill of the foreigners was necessary to him, and behaved towards them in a generous spirit, at the same time conceding something to the exclusiveness of his native subjects.

With the reign of Amasis, Naucratis reached its highest point of commerce and renown. Herodotus says that he allowed the Greeks of Naucratis to dedicate precincts to various deities. It is a curious confirmation of this statement that, according to Mr. Petrie, while the foundations of the temple of Apollo date from somewhat after the middle of the seventh century, the outer wall of his precinct appears to have been built a century later. We also venture to think it probable that the building of the Hellenion belongs to the reign of Amasis. This is not indeed stated by any ancient writer, nor can we prove it from the results of excavation; but it seems to be implied in what Herodotus says, and is in no way inconsistent with the testimony of the spade.

After enumerating the Greek cities which had a share in the foundation of the Hellenion, Herodotus adds: "These are the states to which the enclosure

belongs; and it is these states which appoint overseers of the market; other states which claim a share in it, claim that to which they have no right. Besides, the Aeginetans by themselves founded an enclosure of Zeus, the Samians of Hera, and the Milesians of Apollo." It is thus evident that the Hellenion not only contained a temple or temples dedicated to the gods of Greece, but also an important market. This Hellenion Mr. Petrie has, almost beyond a doubt, discovered, and it fully bears out the description of Herodotus.

The enclosure consisted of a vast rectangle, some 250 yards square, bounded by a wall about 50 feet in thickness and in height, made of native brick. It contained two great buildings. Of these, one has entirely disappeared: the natives, who have in quite recent times destroyed it for the sake of its materials, state that it contained passages and rooms, with an entrance on the ground-floor, "like a house in Cairo." More than this we can never know about it; but we may conjecture that it served rather for a dwelling-place than for temples of the gods. Of the other building there are abundant remains, and a most singular structure it must have been, but admirably adapted, like everything Greek, to the end which those who planned it had in view. It was in form a square, 60 yards each way, framed by walls 16 feet thick and about 60 feet high. The entrance was at 18 feet above the ground, evidently approached by a wooden scaffolding, which could be on occasion removed, and led into a passage, from which branched off to right and left twenty-six chambers. Under each of these chambers was a cellar, but the cellars did not communicate one with the other. There were also upper floors divided into chambers in similar fashion.

It is at once evident that we have in this building

a great market and store-house. The deep cellars, each only accessible from the chamber above it, would furnish ample and secure space for storage; the rooms above would serve as show-rooms and offices, as well as work-rooms. The whole would form a hive of industry much like a modern factory, full of looms and wheels, and the sound of iron and brass. Than the agora in ordinary Greek cities, nothing could be more open and simple. Outdoor life, with crowding and talking and sight-seeing, suited the restless and enquiring Greek. Yet here we see him living in a vast pile of building. And the reason is clear. In Hellas he felt himself to be surrounded by friends and fellow-citizens. But in Egypt he felt that he was surrounded by an alien race and a rival civilisation; by a people who frankly despised instead of admiring him, and would be delighted at any opportunity to drive him into the sea. So he took precautions.

Close consideration of the factory shows it to have been admirably fitted for defence, whether against a crowd or an army. There was no entrance save at 18 feet from the ground, the approach to which could easily be removed.

"If an enemy began to mine the wall, which was 16 feet thick, he would at last, on getting through it, find himself in the bottom of a well" (that is in one of the cellars), "from which the besieged would have had ample time and notice to remove all means of communication. To mount a wall 18 feet high to a doorway, in the face of opponents above, would be impossible; or even the floors might be taken out and the doors fastened, so that the defenders could hurl down stones from a height of 50 feet or more on the enemy. The building was simply impregnable to direct attack, and has never been breached in this way."

Nor would it be a hopeful task to try to reduce by famine a place so abounding in storage-room for food and wine. And even before attempting either assault or blockade, the enemy would have to storm the outer wall of the great enclosure, 50 feet thick.

As we are now busy with the Hellenion, it may be well to sketch its history from the foundation onwards. It appears that at some time during the Persian rule part of the outer wall of the enclosure was broken down, when and how we know not. Ptolemy Philadelphus determined on its restoration. In the breach he set a large building, faced with limestone, no doubt for offices and for commerce. In connection with this building occurred some of the most interesting discoveries of the year. Mr. Petrie found that exactly under each corner of it had been buried a set of foundation deposits, which clearly marked the date and character of the structure. In each deposit were models of the tools used for the building, and specimens of the materials employed in its construction ; a model brick, a plaque of turquoise, jasper, agate and obsidian ; an ingot of gold, of silver, lead, copper and iron ; also models of ceremonial implements, libation vases, corn rubbers, a knife and an axe, together with cartouches of Ptolemy himself. This discovery is not only charming in itself, but of great promise for the future, because it affords us hope of being able hereafter often to determine the date and character of Egyptian buildings, even when they have perished to the ground, since Ptolemy followed an old custom of the country in burying such record of his works.

In the Roman age the building of Ptolemy was pulled down, and its materials used for the erection of the houses and offices of Roman officials dwelling in the enclosure. But by that time Naucratis had gone far

on the downward road leading from greatness to decay.

In all Greek cities, as is well known, there were two main parts, the acropolis and the lower city. At Naucratis there was no hill whereon to build an acropolis; the Hellenion, with its mighty walls, took the place of a citadel and refuge in case of danger. At its gates lay the dwelling-houses of the city, its streets and docks. Of these houses and streets the plan has, to some extent, been discovered by Mr. Petrie. Though the site has been ruined and the whole ground carried away by the Arab diggers of sebach, yet by pains and study the lines of street can be followed, and the walls of the houses distinguished from the mud in which they are embedded. And these investigations prove that the city at its best was small and poor. The contrast between the chief Greek settlement in Egypt and the contemporary Greek settlements in Italy and Sicily, on the Aegean and the Euxine, is indeed marked, and calls for explanation.

Nor is the explanation far to seek. When the swarms thrown off by the parent cities of Greece landed in a country inhabited by Thracians or Phrygians, by wandering Libyan tribes or the rude but hardy races of South Italy, they came as a superior race, bringing with them at least the rudiments of arts and letters, as well as social order and habits of self-government. Those among whom they settled at once felt their superiority; and they had a proud consciousness of it themselves. They did not hesitate, even if they were few in number, to trace a great circuit for walls, and to set aside extensive precincts for their native deities. They knew that expanding Greece was behind them, and that their compatriots would flock after them across the sea. The peoples among whom they settled

might sometimes harass them by force of arms, but had no arts, no civilization, no ideas which could be set up against theirs. They were the force of light invading the kingdom of darkness, and the darkness fell away before them.

But in Egypt the Greeks before the rise of the Persian Empire met with a civilization which could dispute with them on equal terms. The Hellenic nationality being in its infancy was awed by the venerable institutions and beliefs of the land of the Nile. Instead of imparting to barbarians the rudiments of civil organization, the Greeks of Naucratis stood amazed in the presence of a society organized in the most inflexible way. Instead of teaching strangers the use of letters, they found themselves wondering at scribes who had two or three quite different ways of writing, according to the occasion and the subject. Instead of being able to tempt the cupidity of the natives by a display of works of archaic Greek art, they had to admire vessels and textile fabrics, images and ornaments, designed with a skill which far surpassed their own, and showing a delicacy and pureness of style which roused their envy. Only in arms, elsewhere that in which they least excelled their barbarian neighbours, did the Greeks in Egypt surpass the natives of the country. Thus Naucratis might be compared to a tender plant growing in an uncongenial soil, and surrounded on all sides by hardier shrubs ever ready to encroach upon its narrow domain. When the fostering care of kings like Psammitichus and Amasis was no longer exercised, the decay of the city set in slowly but surely.

Meantime, while Naucratis flourished, it was as much an outlet for Egyptian as an inlet for Hellenic influences. Many of the wisest men of Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries, if we may believe the traditions

accepted by their countrymen, passed through the city into Egypt, and brought away treasures of knowledge. According to Diodorus, Solon borrowed several laws from Egypt, among others the law that every citizen should once a year set forth before magistrates the sources of his livelihood. Pythagoras travelled with letters of introduction from Amasis himself, and was supposed to have learned in Egypt not only the language of the country, a thing in those days reckoned as wonderful, but also the principles of his mystic philosophy. Thales of Miletus is said by Diogenes Laertius to have learned mathematics and astronomy in Egypt, and to have taught his countrymen what he had thus learned himself. Hecataeus of Miletus, who perhaps deserves as much as Herodotus the title of "father of history," journeyed into Egypt, and told many tales of the country which remained among the common-places of Greek historical knowledge ever afterwards. No doubt when philosophy and science had grown in Greece to their full stature, they did not retain many marks of the swaddling-bands of Egypt; yet they may, as the ancients believed, have been very usefully aided in their infancy by those swaddling-bands.

There is, however, another field—the field of art and manufacture—in which the recent excavations should enable us to judge with some accuracy of the extent of the debt of Hellas to Egypt. The products of Greek art from Naucratis consist chiefly of three classes of objects, scarabs, pottery, and statuettes. The scarabs come from the factory of which we have already spoken. Had they been found scattered over the Greek islands, or in Cyprus, they would have been at once taken for works of Phoenician craftsmen. For we do not usually think of the Greeks as making copies, barbarous copies, as archaeologists term them, of the products of other

peoples. But in that very early period the proud artistic consciousness of the Greeks had not developed, and they were not yet ashamed of making commodities which were in demand, even though the work of fashioning them was ignominious. And even in the common-place products of this factory we find now and then a trace of Greek originality and skill in design. The pottery from the site belongs nearly all to the seventh and sixth centuries. The bulk of it belongs to the class so abundantly found in the tombs of Cameirus in Rhodes, on which are painted friezes and heraldic groups of animals or winged monsters, lions, sphinxes, and boars, water-birds, and domestic fowls. Here, again, we have much that is Oriental, little that is Greek, and the pottery of Cameirus was formerly supposed to be of Phoenician origin. In certain other vases, however, which resemble the class which has hitherto been attributed to Cyrene, we find human figures, and more of human interest. But the conspectus of the early pottery, which can be dated, it must be remembered, by the dedicatory inscriptions which it bears, proves that even late in the sixth century the pottery of the Greeks had not emerged from that merely decorative stage in which much regard was paid to colour and the harmonious filling of space, and but little to form and subject. The statuettes of Naucratis are seldom or never of purely Egyptian type; rather they are of the mixed character which we observe in statues and statuettes from the island of Cyprus. They too are not beautiful, and show little of the great wave of artistic inventiveness which was at the time passing over Greece.

When the military power of Persia became dominant in Egypt, the function of the Greek mercenaries was for a time gone, and their influence diminished. And it was by no means unlikely that Egypt, which had long

been suffering from gradual exhaustion of the warrior caste, and long been used to respect foreign arms as irresistible, might have been content to accept Persian sway and pay tribute without a murmur, had the Persians been wise enough to spare the feelings and respect the institutions of the people. But this they did not do. They were usually very tolerant of the religions of those they conquered. Babylon and Asia Minor had little ground for accusing them of the fervid iconoclasm which some writers have supposed to be part of their policy. And in Egypt, at the first conquest of the country, they seem to have spared the political and religious sensibilities of the people. We possess a record drawn up by an Egyptian, who narrated how he initiated Cambyses in the mysteries of Neith, and obtained of the king for the goddess special favours, and for himself the post of Court-physician. But afterwards, a sort of frenzy seems to have fallen on Cambyses. He is said not only to have dug up and ill-used the corpse of Amasis, who died during the Persian invasion, but to have treated his family with insult and cruelty. From persecution of the kings of Egypt he passed to persecution of the gods of the country. Every one knows the story told by Herodotus, how, when full of irritation at the news of the destruction of the troops he had sent against the Libyan Oasis, Cambyses was driven to madness by the sound of joy and revelry in the streets of Memphis; and how, learning that the cause of the rejoicing was the instalment of a new Apis-bull, he sent for the newly made deity and plunged a knife into its side, so that it languished and died. It is notable that Wiedemann, who usually rejects stories of this kind, is willing to accept this tale, because he believes that he can identify among the tablets set up in honour of successive Apis-bulls in the Serapeum at Memphis, the

record of the animal slain by Cambyses, a record graven in haste and wanting in the usual formalities. We also learn that Cambyses wasted with fire and sword many of the temples of Egypt and carried off their treasures to Persia.

In such deeds of impiety the Egyptian priests naturally found the cause of the madness which possessed Cambyses in his later years, and made him a terror to all about him. Herodotus is quite ready to accept the explanation. The conduct of Darius Hystaspis was very different from that of Cambyses; he buried with great pomp an Apis-bull which died during his reign, and took great pains to find him a successor; he built and restored many temples, endowed colleges of scribes which were impoverished, and is represented to us in tradition as maintaining an easy and friendly intercourse with the Egyptian priests. But there were few Persian rulers like Darius; the Persian yoke was on the whole extremely uncongenial to the dwellers by the Nile, and wounded all their most settled sentiments. It was not long before discontent broke into open revolt; and during part of the fifth and most of the fourth century there were in Egypt native kings who enjoyed a degree of independence, were indeed often quite independent. Egypt was not really reduced to a Persian province until B.C. 350, a few years before the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great.

We do not propose to trace the obscure outlines of the history of Egypt during this period of revolt and struggle. But it is part of our task to sketch the course taken by events when the Greeks organized, as they did more than once, expeditions to aid the native Egyptian rulers in their efforts to be independent. Between the invasion of Greece by Xerxes and the invasion of Persia by Alexander, there was a perpetual enmity,

whether flaming or smouldering, between the Hellenic race and the over-lords of Asia; and the ruling States in Greece were constantly on the alert to strike at any part of the Persian dominions which might seem open to attack.

Soon after the accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian throne in B.C. 464, a revolt broke out in Egypt. The leader was not a native Egyptian but a Libyan, Inaros by name. Our surprise at this circumstance diminishes if we consider that for ages, from the fifteenth century onwards, Libyan or Mediterranean mercenaries had been a chief element in the armies of Egypt; it was therefore natural that the Egyptians in any attempt to expel the Persians should call on their allies for help. They called also on the people of Athens, with whom the destruction of their city by Xerxes was a fresh memory, and they did not appeal in vain. There were two hundred Athenian triremes stationed at Cyprus ready for any service against Persia; these were at once ordered to the Nile. They conquered the Delta and two thirds of Memphis, hemming the Persian troops into the citadel called the White Fortress. Achaemenes, the Persian satrap, came with an army and fleet to the relief of his men; but his army was defeated with great slaughter by Inaros, and his fleet by the Athenian triremes; he himself was among the slain. But a new and enormous armament was dispatched from Persia under the command of Megabyzus, comprising, we are told, at least half a million of men. The Libyans and Athenians had to retire from Memphis, and took refuge in the island Prosopitis. For a year and a half their naval superiority enabled them to maintain themselves there; then the Persians succeeded in turning aside the water from the branch of the Nile which enclosed the island. Inaros was captured and cruelly executed; the

Athenians capitulated, but were allowed to depart, and marched through Libya to Cyrene, leaving the ships to their conqueror. A reinforcement of fifty Athenian triremes, ascending the Mendesian arm of the Nile in ignorance of what had happened, was entrapped by the Persians and destroyed.

The death of Inaros and the defeat of the Greeks did not at once bring the revolt to an end. Amyrtaeus, a native Egyptian, found means to carry on the struggle for some time longer. Cimon, then in command of the Athenian fleet near Cyprus, sent him sixty ships as an aid. But they accomplished nothing, and soon retired. That Amyrtaeus was able to make favourable terms for himself with the Persian king, appears from the statement of Herodotus, that the Persians allowed Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus to retain his father's dominion, though he probably retained it not as an independent sovereign, but as a vassal of Persia.

A later revolt of Egypt about B.C. 415 was more successful; and for sixty-four years that country maintained a precarious independence under the 28th, 29th, and 30th dynasties. This was accomplished only by the aid of Greek mercenaries, who henceforward play the leading part in all wars on the shores of the Aegean. But to give a connected narrative of their doings in Egypt is very difficult, if not impossible. We lose the guidance of Thucydides, and have to choose between the discrepant accounts of writers like Diodorus, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos. The most abundant information comes from the slovenly pen of Diodorus. Of late certain Egyptologists, more particularly Wiedemann and Revillout, have tried to restore the reputation of this writer. They have succeeded in showing that his account of Egyptian law is based on good and native authorities; but even Wiedemann does not pretend

that his narratives of events are to be trusted. He confuses names and dates with the most exasperating carelessness, and in repeating his account of civil and military events we cannot escape from the feeling that it is likely that what he is narrating never really happened. Unfortunately also at this period native records are scarce and meagre. The materials of history, therefore, scarcely exist.

The native ruler who shook off the Persian yoke was Amyrtaeus, perhaps a grandson of the Amyrtaeus already spoken of. He gained possession alike of Upper and Lower Egypt, and it seems from a casual reference in Thucydides (viii. 35), that he was a friend of the Athenians. That he won his throne through Greek mercenaries is more than probable, and when a papyrus informs us in regard to his successors that they owed their elevation to the soldiers, we may be almost sure that the nucleus of these soldiers was Greek. Of Achoris, who ruled at the beginning of the fourth century, we learn that he sent building-timber and corn to the Spartans for their wars, and that he concluded with the active and powerful Evagoras, king of Cyprus, a treaty against Persia, and sent fifty vessels to his aid in that final battle against the Great King, which put an end for ever to the chance of Cyprus' gaining a prominent place in the world's history.

As to the wars and policy of the next King, Nectanebus I., who came to the throne, according to Wiedemann, in B.C. 387, we have ampler information. Evagoras having been put down, the Persians made great preparations for the reduction of Egypt. Pharnabazus marched into the country with an army of 200,000 men, but even with forces so overwhelming he was disquieted by hearing that the Athenian Chabrias was in the Egyptian service. Sending to Athens, he procured the recall of

that officer, and even persuaded the Athenians to let him have the services of Iphicrates, who joined him with 20,000 Greek mercenaries. Failing in an attempt on the Pelusian arm of the Nile, Pharnabazus and Iphicrates made good an entry into Egypt by the Mendesian arm. The land lay open to them, and Iphicrates counselled (we repeat the account of Diodorus) a prompt attack upon Memphis, which was not in a state of defence. But whether through jealousy or indecision, or through waiting for orders from the Persian court, Pharnabazus delayed to move until Nectanebus had had time to cover Memphis with his army, and the rising of the Nile so hampered the movements of the Persians that they were obliged to retire, and the invasion came to nothing. The reign of Nectanebus was dignified by visits paid to Egypt by noteworthy Greek savants; Eudoxus, the astronomer, Chrysippus, the physician, and Plato, the philosopher. Letters of introduction from Agesilaus secured Eudoxus respectful attention at the Egyptian court. As regards one of the three, Plato, we may be sure that his imagination was not unmoved by the wonders of the land, and that there are passages in his writings which but for this visit would not have been written.

The successor of Nectanebus, Tachos, being again threatened from Persia, applied for aid to the Spartans, and procured for himself, it is said through heavy bribes, the aid of the aged Agesilaus and a body of Lacedaemonian troops. Being thus fortunate, and having further secured the Athenian Chabrias as leader of his fleet, he felt emboldened to undertake an offensive campaign. He rapidly made a conquest of Phoenicia; but during his absence a relation, Nectanebus II., revolted against him. The people of Egypt seem at once to have accepted the new pretender, but the question was what line would be

taken by Agesilaus and Chabrias. Agesilaus had already been deeply wounded in his Spartan pride by Tachos, who had failed to understand that the coarse clothes and rude manners of the Spartan king were a sign not of humility, but of infinite pretension, and had ventured to slight him. He is said to have referred to Sparta the question which side he should take, and to have received in reply the answer that he should do whatever was for the advantage of Sparta. He left the party of Tachos and adopted that of Nectanebus; Chabrias followed his example; and Tachos' Egyptian troops not venturing to retain their loyalty, he fled to the Persian court, where he was received as a useful ally.

We hear next of a fresh Persian invasion of Egypt, which was repulsed by two Greek leaders of mercenaries, Diophantes of Athens and Lamius of Sparta. But a subsequent expedition, which took place in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus about B.C. 350, was more successful. The manner of its success is very characteristic of the times. The Persian army of invasion was accompanied by a large body of Greek troops under Nicostratus and Mentor of Rhodes. Nectanebus marched against it, accompanied by 20,000 Greek troops under Cleinias of Cos. On the frontier the two bodies of mercenary troops came into collison, and Cleinias was defeated. The disaster was irreparable; Nectanebus fled to the south, and the cities of Egypt surrendered without further struggle. The Persian King Ochus visited Egypt, and is said to have repeated all the cruelties and enormities of Cambyses, down to the slaying of the Apis-bull; though it may perhaps be doubted whether the fact is that Ochus copied Cambyses, or merely that Plutarch and other late writers who record these deeds copy Herodotus. In any case this was the end of Egyptian independence, and the historian must allow that the end was due. A nation

that could allow its national existence to depend on the victory or defeat of one body of foreign mercenaries by another, can scarcely claim our pity when it fell. Egypt had still a history before it; but it was a history not concerned with conquest or war, but with science and poetry, religion and philosophy. But before the first page of that later history could be opened, it was necessary that Greek influence should affect far more deeply the national life. Hitherto Greeks had been only the defenders and mercenaries of Egypt; it was necessary that they should become her masters; and not masters only of her political organization, but also of her learning, her science, her religion, and her art.

Persian authority had scarcely been re-established in Egypt when Persia in turn succumbed to a new and mighty foe. Alexander the Great having welded into one force the wisdom of Greece and the hardy strength of Macedonia, brought that force to bear with irresistible energy on the languid and overgrown empire of Asia, and it crumbled at once to pieces. In no country was the victory of Alexander more rapid or more easy than in Egypt. City after city opened its gates on his approach; and the throne of the Pharaohs cost him scarcely the life of a spearman. Of course to forces and talents such as those of which Alexander disposed, Egypt could under any circumstances have made but a weak resistance. But there is reason to believe that she did not care to resist. Sabaces, the Persian satrap of the country, had fallen at Issus, and the Persian garrison was withdrawn to meet the nearer needs of the Empire. The Egyptians had no motive for resisting Alexander on behalf of their foreign masters, and they were too weak and dispirited to oppose him in the interests of their independence. Rather they were inclined to welcome him as a liberator, as a hero belonging to another and more tolerant race than the

lords whom they were used to obey. Alexander offered sacrifices to the national deities, and amused the people with warlike pomp and agonistic festivals. The Egyptian priests were ready with a fiction to make submission in some sense a duty. Nectanebus II. had disappeared at the time of the Persian reconquest; the priests gave out that he had made his way to Macedon, and there, through the use of magic arts, become the father of Alexander. The story was an invention, as obviously false as the earlier fable which had made Cambyses son of an Egyptian princess; in both cases the motive was the same, and in both cases the story fulfilled its object.

Escorted by his troops, Alexander sailed from Memphis by the Canobic branch of the Nile; he landed at Racotis. Here was the place where Homer represents the imaginary raid of Odysseus into Egypt as having taken place, in a poem which Alexander knew by heart. He at once made up his mind to build there a great city to bear his name, and to be a memorial of him for ever; and thus the greatest of all the Alexandrias came into being. Hence he visited the oasis of Ammon, led to the spot, when the way was lost in the sand, by two serpents; and found in that deity a third claimant to the honour of having begotten him.

As Alexandria grew, Naucratis declined. In the troubled times of Nectanebus, the city had rather shrunk than increased, and had suffered from some hostile violence, of which traces still remain. Despite the efforts of Ptolemy Philadelphus to restore the place, it never again flourished. A fragmentary papyrus proves that it retained under the Greek kings its municipal organization, under magistrates called *τιμούχοι*, remaining a free Greek community. About the third century of our era, after giving a home to some notable men of

letters,—Philistus, Proclus, Athenaeus and Julius Pollux —Naucratis ceased to exist. Since then the site, one of the coolest, healthiest, and pleasantest in Egypt, has been tenanted by none but scattered Copts and companies of agricultural Arabs.

Egypt was indeed fortunate in being assigned, when Alexander's flimsy empire fell to pieces, to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the gentlest and wisest of the Macedonian generals, a man who understood, while bringing fresh life into the administration, the religion, and the social condition of Egypt, how to avoid shocking the sensibilities of the conservative people of the land.

In religion, we find under the Ptolemaic kings a process of syncretism. The resemblance, which had not escaped Herodotus, of the worship of Isis to that of the Greek Demeter, made it easy that she should retain her place at the head of the pantheon of Egypt. But her consort Osiris gradually recedes into the background before a new deity, Sarapis, whose worship was introduced into the country by Ptolemy in consequence of a dream. Sarapis took his place beside Isis, and the other Egyptian gods, Anubis, Harpocrates and the like, sank into mere satellites of the supreme pair, into whose worship more and more of symbolism and of mysticism entered, until the Egyptian religion seemed to the pagans of the third century of our era no unworthy rival of Christianity. But the state religion of Egypt in Hellenistic times was less the cult of Isis and Sarapis than that of the kingly race. According to the tales of the priests, all the gods of Egypt, from Osiris downwards, had been originally successive kings of the country; it was therefore not difficult, especially since the Libyan Ammon guaranteed Alexander's divine parentage, to raise him also from the rank of king to that of god. The worship of the Macedonian hero and his Greek successors became the central worship

of Egypt, and not only united Macedonian, Greek, and Egyptian in a common litany, but served to give religious sanction to the power of the reigning dynasty.

As kings, the Ptolemies stepped into the customs and the honours of the Pharaohs. This was natural, since among the Greeks there was no precedent for such relations as existed in the East between sovereigns and subjects. Alexander did indeed for a short time assume the position of a Persian king of kings, and in some part of the station which he thus claimed most of his successors tried to imitate him. But probably the precedents of the Persian court had less effect in Egypt than in Syria or even Macedon. Of course the relation of the king to his Greek subjects and to his Egyptian subjects would not be the same. To the former he would be a countryman in high station; to the latter an earthly god. From the facts of archaeology we may illustrate this distinction. When on the walls of an Egyptian temple one of the Ptolemaic dynasty is depicted as engaged in religious or political observance, he is represented, as were the older monarchs of the land, in Egyptian dress, in conventional attitude, with the inexpressive features of an abstraction, not of a person. When on their silver coins, struck for the use of Greek commerce, the portraits of the Ptolemies appear, they appear as men, idealized indeed to some degree, but still as men, liable to the accidents and diseases of humanity. On the bronze coins struck under Ptolemaic rule, mostly for the use of the Egyptians themselves, we have usually no portrait at all, but the effigy of a deity.

Something, however, was changed even in the government of the native Egyptian population. Writers on the Ptolemaic constitution of Egypt attach great importance to the establishment of Boards of Judges who moved in circuit into the different districts of Egypt.

Hitherto the Courts of Justice had had their fixed seats in the great cities; and the peasantry being, like all peasant cultivators, very litigious, had flocked into the towns with their causes, and waited for long periods until they could be attended to. We are told that the result was that much of the fertile land of Egypt remained for considerable periods untilled. Instead of abolishing the local courts, the Ptolemaic kings strove in some degree to supersede them by providing Boards of Chrematistae, who moved among the people, invested directly by the King with a portion of his authority, and responsible to him alone. Thus cheaper and speedier justice was made accessible to the peasantry. But in Ptolemaic as in Pharaonic Egypt, the King was practically an autocrat, whose rescripts were law, and whose officers held power not a moment longer than they retained his favour. In Ptolemaic as in Pharaonic Egypt, the nome or district was the unit of government; probably the hierarchy of officials in the nome was not much altered.

But although the political constitution of Egypt was not greatly altered when the land fell into Greek hands, yet in other respects great changes took place. The mere fact that Egypt took its place among a family of Hellenistic nations, instead of claiming as of old a proud isolation, must have had a great effect on the trade, the manufactures, and the customs of the country. To begin with trade. Under the native kings Egypt had scarcely any external trade, and trade could scarcely spring up during the wars with Persia. But under the Ptolemies, intercourse between Egypt and Sicily, Syria or Greece, would naturally and necessarily advance rapidly. Egypt produced manufactured goods which were everywhere in demand; fine linen, ivory, porcelain, notably that papyrus which Egypt alone produced, and which

was necessary to the growing trade in manuscripts. Artificial barriers being once removed, enterprising traders of Corinth and Tarentum, Ephesus and Rhodes, would naturally seek these goods in Egypt, bringing in return whatever of most attractive their own countries had to offer. It seems probable that the subjects of the Ptolemies seldom or never had the courage to sail direct down the Red Sea to India. In Roman times this voyage became not unusual, but at an earlier time the Indian trade was principally in the hands of the Arabs of Yemen and of the Persian Gulf. Nevertheless the commerce of Egypt under the Ptolemies spread eastwards as well as westwards. The important towns of Arsinoë and Berenice arose on the Red Sea as emporia of the Arabian trade. And as always happens when Egypt is in vigorous hands, the limits of Egyptian rule and commerce were pushed further and further up the Nile.

The influx into Alexandria and Memphis of a crowd of Greek architects, artists, and artizans, could not fail to produce movement in that stream of art which had in Egypt long remained all but stagnant. A wealthy Greek court and self-indulgent Greek satraps had to be supplied with articles of luxury which would not offend them by hieratic stiffness or bear the impress of a religion which they half despised. That the Egyptians responded to the demand we know; the best proof is to be found in reading the extraordinary account in Athenaeus of the pomp of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We there not merely read of a display of wealth such as was perhaps never rivalled, of mountains of gold and silver, but also find precious indications of a new departure in Greek art, which seems on that occasion to have borrowed something from the abstract tendencies of Egyptian thought. There were statues not merely of gods and kings, but of a multitude of cities, and even personifications of qualities

such as Aretê, Valour, and of spaces of time such as the Year and Pentetêris. Such abstractions are not to be found in Greek art in its best period, nor are they in the spirit of Greek art at all; but they mark the new age and the progressive amalgamation of Greek and Egyptian nationalities and ideas under the just and benign rule of the earlier Ptolemies.

If we may trust the somewhat over-coloured and flighty panegyrics which have come down to us, the material progress of Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus was most wonderful. We read, though we cannot for a moment trust the figures of Appian, that in his reign Egypt possessed an army of 200,000 foot soldiers and 40,000 horsemen, 300 elephants and 2000 chariots of war. The fleet at the same period is said to have included 1500 large vessels, some of them with twenty or thirty banks of oars. Allowing for exaggeration, we must suppose that Egypt was then more powerful than it had been since the days of Rameses. The enormous wealth of Philadelphus would enable him to secure the services of a large number of those wandering mercenaries, troops from Crete and Thessaly, Peloponnesus and Caria, Libya and Galatia, who mainly made up the armies of the Hellenistic kings; and who, if they were well paid, seem to have been fairly faithful. The number of towns in Egypt under the early Ptolemies is given by some writers as over 30,000.

But far more noble, and far more durable in its effects than any mere material expansion, was the rise at Alexandria of a great literary and scientific school. Among the scholiasts on the great poets and prose-writers of Greece there was no doubt much pedantry, but a literature which was adorned by the writings of Theocritus, and Bion, and Callimachus, cannot be despised. And to our day most children are trained to mental

accuracy by the writings of an Alexandrian professor of mathematics, Euclid. A large part of the thoughts which dominate the world's views in philosophy, religion, and science, saw the light first in Alexandria. But if it were our intention to do justice to the glories of that illustrious city, it would claim not the last page of a chapter but a volume.

We have introduced the Greeks as they made their first appearance in Egypt as mail-clad warriors from over the sea, and we have followed their career until from being the hired protectors of the Egyptians, they became their masters. The later relations between Egypt on the one side, and Syria, Athens, and Rome on the other, would form a subject not less interesting, but beyond our compass. Egypt, with Alexandria as its capital, plays a great part in the drama of history; Egypt, with Naucratis as its link with the outer world, was comparatively recluse. It is therefore the more welcome when excavation helps us to clear away some of the mist which envelopes the earliest of the Greek settlements in Egypt, and enables us more clearly to understand under what conditions it existed and what were its relations to Greece and to Egypt.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS.

IT is only by slow degrees that the modern world has learned how much is left of ancient Athens. To the great scholars of the Renaissance, Athens was a name in history but not in geography, a vanished city like Babylon and Jerusalem. From the days when Ciriaco of Ancona, in 1447, first brought it to the knowledge of the learned world that though the jewels were gone, valuable fragments of the casket still remained, down to the present year, archaeological research has pressed closer and closer at Athens on the heels of the ravages of time and barbarism, until it may fairly be said that as Athens is almost the most interesting of ancient cities, so the remains which it has left us are more extensive and suggestive than those of any other place, with the possible exception of Rome. And this is only natural. Jerusalem has left an invisible record in the spiritual life of mankind; but the genius of the Athenians was pre-eminently plastic. What they thought and felt they worked out in their exquisite native marble, and the rocky soil and dry air of Attica have preserved at least some remains of their admirable creations through the political vicissitudes of twenty-five centuries.

The modern Athenians are possessed by a curious passion, intelligible but quite unhistorical. They are determined to obliterate so far as they can the whole tract

of history which lies between the Roman Conquest and King George. Every year brings the spoken language of educated circles in Athens nearer to the language of Demosthenes. The children receive high-sounding names like Miltiades and Sophocles, and read in the elementary schools the great masterpieces of Hellenic literature. Cities and districts lose their mediaeval and go back to their classical names. The Panathenaic festival has been brought to life, and Christian churches are demolished in order that the remains of pagan temples may be disinterred from their walls and foundations. Whether the modern Hellenes are quite wise in taking up a past to the burden of which they are scarcely equal, and forgetting a more recent past with its many useful lessons, may be doubted. In any case, it is in this spirit that they have dealt with the Athenian Acropolis. That they should clear away the mosque which occupied the interior of the Parthenon when it fell into their hands after Navarino, as well as the Turkish battery, and later the ugly tower which commanded the entrance to the Acropolis, is not matter for wonder. It was a less happy impulse which made them destroy the bastion erected by their own Captain Odysseus in the War of Independence, and which led them in 1834 to set up in their places some of the columns of the Parthenon which had fallen, and quite recently to range the drums of fallen columns in formal order at the sides of the building. But since we are now promised that the Christian frescoes on the walls of the Parthenon shall be spared, and since the foundations of even Roman buildings are respected, we must not unduly complain, especially seeing that nothing but praise can be awarded to the zeal and method with which the extensive excavations of the last five years have been conducted.

It is chiefly with the results of these recent excavations,

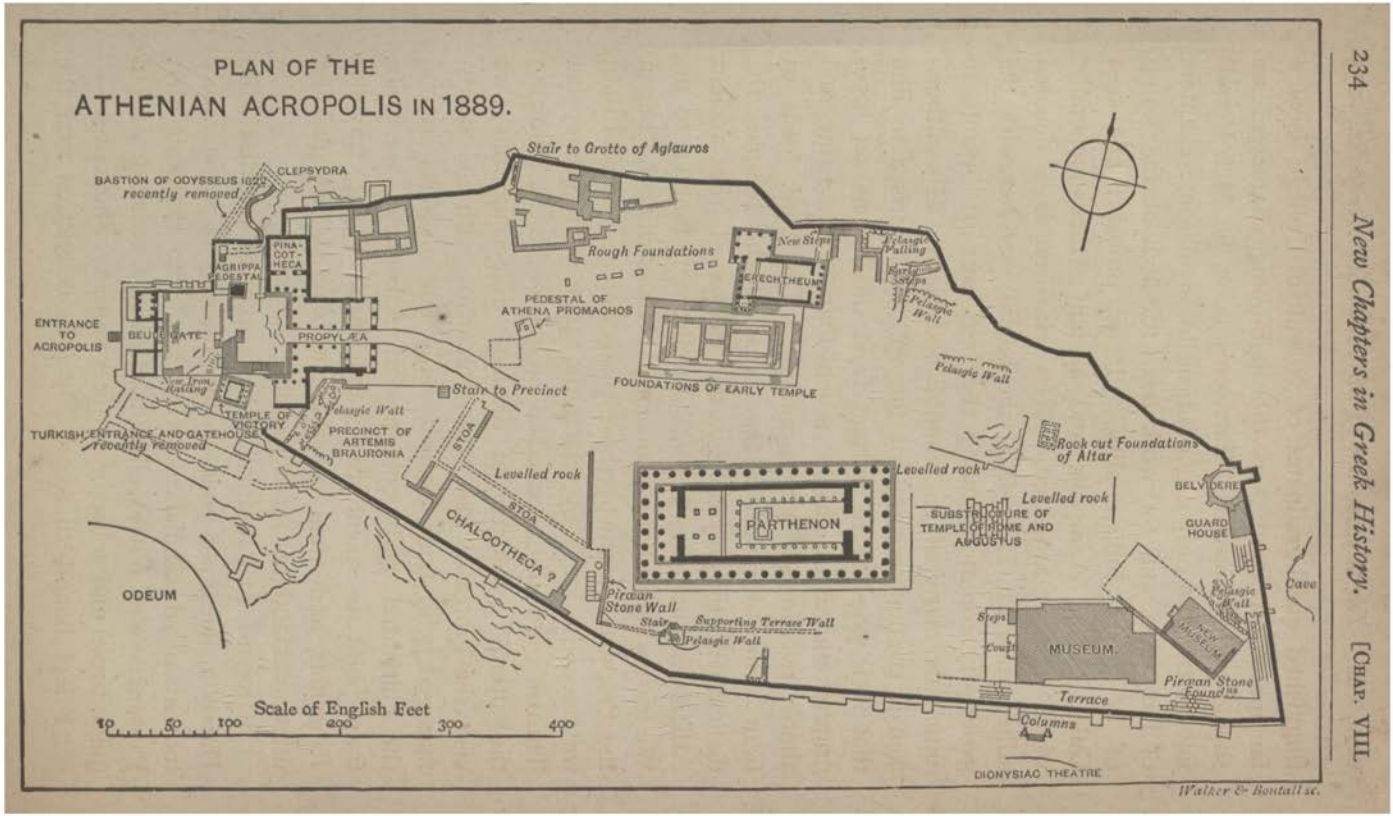
conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society, that we propose to deal in the present chapter. They are of extraordinary richness and interest; and although reports of them have appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Athenaeum*, and in the pages of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, they have not been fairly brought before the notice of those, in England so numerous a class, whose interest in Greece and Greek art is general rather than special. To help our readers we copy, in the annexed woodcut, a plan of the Acropolis due to Messrs. Penrose and Schultz, and published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1889. For permission to use it our thanks are due to the Council of the Hellenic Society.

If this plan be compared with that published in 1885 in Baumeister's *Denkmaeler* or that in Baedeker's *Greece*, it will be seen how much progress has lately been made in the topography of the site. But the progress is not due only to the excavations; in great part it is the work of Dr. Doerpfeld, Head of the German School of Athens, a man whose patience, science, and enthusiasm are all alike remarkable; a man who has shed upon all the sites where he has worked a flood of new light, and who possesses in a rare degree the power of interesting and convincing others.

There are two recent works on the Athenian Acropolis. Dr. Boetticher's* is a readable and useful résumé of the views generally accepted at the time of his writing, illustrated by abundant engravings. Unfortunately it was written a little too soon; and the writer is more at home in dealing with the problems of architecture than with those of sculpture, epigraphy, or topography. The book of Miss Harrison and Mrs. Verrall,† two dis-

* *Die Akropolis von Athen.*

† *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens.*


PLAN OF THE
ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS IN 1889.
Stair to Grotto of Aglauros
BASTION OF ODYSSEUS 1827
recently removed
CLEPSYDRA
AGRIPPA PEDESTAL
PINA-COTHECA
ENTRANCE TO ACROPOLIS
BEULÉ GATE
PROPYLÆA
Rough Foundations
New Steps
ERECHTHEUM
Pelasgic Walling
Pelasgic Wall
PEDESTAL OF ATHENA PROMACHOS
FOUNDATIONS OF EARLY TEMPLE
Pelasgic Wall
Stair to Precinct
TEMPLE OF VICTORY
Pelasgic Wall
PRECINCT OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA
TURKISH ENTRANCE AND GATEHOUSE
recently removed
STOA
STOA
Levelled rock
CHALCOTHECA ?
Rock cut Foundations of Altar
Levelled rock
PARTHENON
Levelled rock
SUBSTRUCTURE OF TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS
BELVIDERE
GUARD HOUSE
Cave
ODEUM
Piræan Stone Wall
Stair
Supporting Terrace Wall
Pelasgic Wall
Steps
Court
MUSEUM
NEW MUSEUM
Pelasgic Wall
Piræan Stone Found
Terrace
Columns
DIONYSIAC THEATRE
Scale of English Feet
0 50 100 200 300 400
Walker & Boutall sc.

tinguished quasi-graduates of Newnham College, is of a far more important and thorough-going character; we should rather say Miss Harrison's book, for Mrs. Verrall has contributed only a good translation of some chapters of Pausanias, and the work bears throughout the stamp of a strong individuality. It is probably the best Guide to the Acropolis, and ancient Athens generally, which has yet appeared. Miss Harrison is a devoted adherent of Dr. Doerpfeld, who has allowed her, with the generosity common among the best sort of savants, to anticipate many of his unpublished views. His enthusiasm is contagious; and readers will be surprised to find that it is possible to extract from discussions on topography and Attic myths much that is interesting and almost overflowing with actuality. The book leads us from point to point in the midst of the temples, the dedications, the mythology, the cultus of the ancient Athenians, until they become astonishingly familiar to us. We learn all about the plans of Mnesicles when he began the Propylaea, and why those plans were not carried out; we trace the steps by which the stage of the Dionysiac Theatre gradually encroached on the orchestra, following the altering character of dramatic representations; we visit the grotto of Pan, and sympathize with the herdsman-god, who finds himself sadly out of place among the cultivated and metaphysical Athenians; we trace from point to point the wanderings of the traveller Pausanias, and often get the true clue to his puzzling utterances and his more puzzling silences.

In regard to Pausanias, we are glad to see that Miss Harrison does not endorse the theories of some rather too advanced scholars in Germany, who maintain that Pausanias was no traveller at all, but a redactor of old guide-books and collector of queer stories. She writes:—

"I feel bound to record my own conviction that the

narrative of Pausanias is no instance of 'Reise Romantik,' but the careful, conscientious, and in some parts amusing and quite original narrative of a *bonâ fide* traveller. If Pausanias did read his Polemon before he started, and when he got back to his study in Asia Minor posted up his notes by the help of the last mythological handbook, what educated man would do less? . . . In the face of recent excavations, which everywhere, save in the most trivial details, confirm the narrative of Pausanias, such criticism proves nothing but that there is a vast amount of energy and learned ingenuity out of work."

No test could be more severe than that to which Miss Harrison submits the narrative of Pausanias; if it endures that test, we may fairly be content to trust it when there is no special reason for mistrust.

To these special works we have to add the less detailed, but not less interesting *Stadtgeschichte von Athen* by the Nestor of Greek archaeology, Professor Ernst Curtius, who writes of Athens at once with the ardour of a lover, the science of a historian, and the imagination of a poet. His book treats of the whole ancient history of Athens, and his longer experience and wider knowledge serve in some cases to correct the revolutionary views of Dr. Doerpfeld.

The Acropolis, with its levelled top surrounded by lofty walls, approached through magnificent Propylaea, and loaded with ancient temples and monuments, evidently owes at least as much to art as to nature. It has long been known that its present form and aspect dates from the age of Cimon and of Pericles. The recent excavations have thrown light on all ages of Athenian history, but they are specially notable for having opened up to us the stages through which the whole Acropolis passed before it reached what may be

called its classical form. Hitherto it has risen as abruptly from the background of history as from the level soil of the Attic plain. But now we can trace step by step its formation out of an irregular rocky mass, sloping on at least two sides gradually to the ground below, and surmounted only by the poor huts of a prehistoric race, whom the later Greeks called by the vague name of Pelasgi.

The nucleus of almost all the celebrated centres of civic life in Greece was a rocky eminence rising out of a river-valley. Such a rock was a natural fortress, and afforded shelter to a sparse population of shepherds and fishermen in the early times of Greece, when, as Herodotus and Thucydides tell us, every man's life was in his hands, and no coast free from the constant incursions of pirates. Under such outward pressure the village life of primitive barbarians began to crystallize into civic order. On some parts of the Acropolis-rock one may still trace, though not so clearly as on the neighbouring Areiopagus, the foundations of the huts or cells of the early inhabitants. Recently a few graves dating from the same age have been discovered. They contain, besides human bones, only a few rude terra-cotta figures, and fragments of the primitive pottery known to archaeologists as Mycenaean, because it is found in greatest abundance on the site of Mycenae.

It is evident that in very early times efforts were made to strengthen the Acropolis with walls, especially on the western side where it is most easily accessible. Of such early walls there are considerable remains close to the Propylaea of Pericles. Some archaeologists have tried to trace the lines of a far more complete system of fortification, running round the foot of the Acropolis and enclosing a small part of the surrounding plain. This view, which is however based on no great amount of existing remains, would help to account for the fact that

a strip of land at the foot of the rock was in Greek historical times known as the Pelasgicum and kept, for traditional religious reasons, free of buildings. In the recent excavations, there have been found near the later Erechtheum traces of the foundations of a prehistoric palace, which Dr. Doerpfeld supposes to have been the abode of the kings who traced their lineage to Erechtheus, as well as of a rocky staircase leading thence to the lower ground, just as does the staircase at Tiryns, which descends to the plain from the palace of the rulers of that early city.

That the kings of Athens in the heroic age had their palace on the Acropolis may be regarded as certain, though it is possible that its site is covered by the Parthenon. What that palace would be like we may judge from the remarkable discovery at Tiryns of remains of the palace of the Greek heroic age, of which we have already spoken. They record a civilization luxurious if not lofty, and an age when wealthy and noble families dispersed over Greece disposed of the resources of the country, and ruled over masses of subject vassals, whose huts clustered about their lofty abodes. When, early in the sixth century, Peisistratus seized on the Government of Athens, he, like the early kings, took up his abode on the Acropolis. But by this time the change had begun which at Athens, as in most Greek cities, transformed the Acropolis from an abode of men into a dwelling-place of the gods. There already existed a large temple of Athena in the very midst of the Acropolis, of which the foundations have in the last few years been traced by Dr. Doerpfeld. Mr. Penrose maintains, in a paper recently read before the Hellenic Society, that Peisistratus also erected an older Parthenon, on the site on which the present Parthenon stands, and that various still remaining achitectural fragments which Dr.

Doerpfeld had given to the temple of his own discovery really belonged to this building. It is at all events proved by inscriptions published by Dr. Lolling* that a temple called the Hecatompedon existed at Athens before the Persian conquest, and it seems more natural to apply this term to an earlier Parthenon than with Doerpfeld and Curtius to the midmost temple of Athena. Peisistratus was content to share the plateau with the goddess to whom he owed his elevation and success.

Considerable remains of the Acropolis and its monuments as they existed in the time of the Peisistratidae have been preserved to us as a consequence of the havoc wrought by the Persians when they were in possession of Athens in B.C. 480 and 479. As, however, this statement has the air of a paradox, we must try to prove that it is true.

Herodotus tells us (VIII. 51), how in B.C. 480 the numberless host of Xerxes came down upon Athens, and how the Athenian people fled upon their ships to the opposite island of Salamis, except a few who, reading literally the oracle which bade the Athenians trust to their wooden walls, barricaded the approaches to the Acropolis with beams and planks, and so awaited the foe. To the Persians when they arrived they offered a desperate resistance, but some of the mountaineers in the invading army climbed up the steep rock to the sanctuary of Aglauros on the north of the Acropolis, and thence mounted the narrow staircase which led thither from the summit (see plan). The defenders were put to the sword, or flung themselves in despair down the precipices, and the Persian soldiery completed their work by breaking down and destroying the monuments on the sacred site, and burning the buildings. The destruction was a deed of warlike fury, not of religious iconoclasm.

* *Athena* for 1890.

It was formerly supposed that the Persians, and especially their kings, were actuated by a hatred of idolatry, and a zeal for more spiritual religion in their dealings with conquered nations. But the records of Egypt show us that in that country the Persian invaders displayed an easy tolerance towards Egyptian cultus. So it was at Athens. On the day after the temples had been burned Xerxes ordered the Athenian exiles who were in his camp to go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice to Athena after their own fashion. It is said that they found a portent, which showed that the humiliation of Athens would not be lasting. The sacred olive-tree of Athena, instead of withering from the flames, had in one night sent out a fresh shoot a cubit in length.

After the glorious victory of the Greeks at Salamis, the Persian troops retired for the winter into Boeotia, and the Athenians could for a few months revisit their home. But in the spring of 479, Mardonius once more occupied the ruined city, and Herodotus says that when he left it to meet the Spartans at Plataea, he once more burned all that could be burned, and levelled with the ground whatever still remained standing, walls, houses, temples and statues. The destruction was as complete as barbarous fury could make it. When the people of Athens came back to their city, they found only an undistinguishable heap of ruins, blackened with fire and shattered by hammers.

But the days which followed the repulse of the Persians were in all Greece days of vigour and progress, of youthful hopes and unbounded aspirations. It was not likely that the Athenians, who had hurled back the whole strength of Asia, would sit long idle in the midst of ruins. And it was not likely, at a time when art was growing and expanding every day, that they would be content to restore the buildings and monuments of

the Acropolis to the state in which they had been before the coming of Xerxes. When art is stagnant or dead, nations care greatly to preserve the monuments handed down to them by previous generations. When art is alive and growing, destruction is sometimes almost welcomed as an opportunity for progress, and the feeling of Homer's Diomedes, "We are far better than our fathers," governs the energies of architect, sculptor, and painter. So the Athenians proceeded to make new temples larger than the old, to set up more beautiful statues, to establish more splendid cults. The marble fragments with which the surface of the Acropolis was covered, they used only as materials for walls or foundations for buildings. They were straightway buried out of sight; and buried they remained until the excavations of the last three years. Yet the Athenians seem to have made some distinctions. Pausanias speaks in one place of ancient images of Athena blackened by Persian smoke, but still holding their places of honour. Thus it would seem that some of the images of the gods, sacred from long association, were repaired and set up again. But almost all that had not so strong religious sanction was condemned. Votive portraits of men and women, dedications bearing the names of wealthy citizens, even the sculptural decorations of temples, were thrown aside as no longer worthy of a place in the Athens which was to be.

The story of the building of the walls of the lower city by Themistocles is well known. In constant fear of Spartan interruption, men, women, and children toiled incessantly at the work, and for material not only the walls of private houses were demolished, but also inscribed stones and sepulchral monuments were broken up and used; in fact, from the wall of Themistocles we have in recent years recovered inscriptions and fragments of tombs of an early period; the slab, for

instance, on which is sculptured the head of a youth holding a discus. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the walls of the upper city or Acropolis were thus hastily piled together. They show, on the other hand, every mark of care, and are admirably constructed. In places, it is true, we find, instead of squared stones from the quarry, the remains of pillar and cornice taken from the ruined temples lying near; but it is likely that this break in the order of the walls was the result not of haste or parsimony, but of deliberate intention. Pausanias tells us that some of the Greeks were anxious to leave all the ruins on the Acropolis lying as they stood for an eternal memorial of the hate due to the Persians. This could not be done; but it was found possible to retain and to embody in the walls of the citadel a memorial of the ruin wrought by the barbarians sufficient to act as a perpetual reminder.

According to Dr. Doerpfeld it is to Cimon that we must ascribe the reduction of the Acropolis to its present form. The wall on the north has been ascribed by the excellent authority of Leake to Themistocles; but Pausanias says expressly that all the walls of the Acropolis which did not date from the Pelasgic age were erected by Cimon. Of the method of formation of the surface of the Acropolis after the Persian invasion, we must endeavour to give some account.

The natural rock which is its foundation is not flat above, but rises in the midst somewhat like a gable roof. Let us pursue this analogy a little further. Let us suppose a house with gable roof, of which the ridge runs parallel to the front and back walls of the house. Then it is evident that if the two walls of the house are carried up to the level of the ridge, and the two triangular spaces between ridge and walls filled up, a flat roof will be the result. This was the plan followed by

the Athenian architects. They built their solid walls on the line where the abrupt rise of the rock ceased, and as the walls rose they filled the space between them and the highest ridge with layer above layer of earth and stones until they produced a surface, not indeed mathematically level, but level enough to serve as a foundation for the noble temples and beautiful monuments with which the piety of the Athenians designed to reward the gods who had rolled back the tide of Persian invasion, and made Athens free and glorious.

It is these spaces behind the walls which have been thoroughly searched in the last five years. And as they were filled to a great degree with the ruined walls and inscriptions and statues left scattered on the site when the Persians departed, it may easily be understood that a rich harvest has been reaped of works of historical and artistic interest belonging to the age of Peisistratus and the time which followed down to B.C. 480. In the neighbourhood of the Erechtheum ancient sculptures lay crowded together; at one spot fourteen statues were found, representing in various styles of art a goddess or her votaries.

Seldom has a more admirable opportunity been offered to archaeologists than this. An endless series of statues, of fragments of pediments, of bases, of inscriptions, of shards of vases, is laid before them, and they may be quite sure that all belong to a period of which the limit in time is sharply defined. A hundred questions as to the meaning, the school, the historical bearing of each monument are suggested, and beyond these questions lies the grand problem of recovering the whole artistic and mythologic surroundings of the sixth century at Athens. And the very men most fitted to use the opportunity are on the spot. Besides the members of the Greek Archaeological Society there are now con-

centrated in Athens, in the German, French, English, and American Schools, the most promising young archaeologists of many countries. It cannot be denied that the lead in all archaeological matters belongs to the Germans. But we must remember that the British School at Athens has been but quite recently established, and suffers from poverty unknown to the other Schools, which can rely on Government support.

We now know with certainty that in the Peisistratid age a temple of Athena stood between the sites of the later Parthenon and the later Erechtheum. In size it does not approach the Parthenon, from which temple it also differs in ground-plan (see p. 234), inasmuch as behind the cella of the goddess we find traces of two rooms, which would seem to have been used as treasure-chambers. Perhaps they may have contained respectively the treasures of Athena and those of the other gods, which are in the later inscriptions kept apart, and which were guarded by different Boards of Treasurers. Dr. Doerpfeld has attempted the reconstruction of this temple from data still existing. Nothing but the bare foundations remain on the spot; but in virtue of a series of elaborate measurements he claims some fragments built into the neighbouring Acropolis walls as belonging to the building, and not only tells us the number of pillars, their size and character, but even ventures to assure us that whereas the body of the temple is of very early date, the stylobate was added in the time of Peisistratus. Mr. Penrose, however, claims these same remains for the earlier Parthenon, and has many reasons in favour of his view. The talent and patience of a younger archaeologist, Dr. Studniczka, has recovered from the masses of remains some fragments of a group which may have adorned the pediment of one or other of these temples. This discovery offers so good an in-

stance of the application of archaeological method that we must give a more detailed account of it.

An archaic helmeted head of Athena of sixth-century work was found many years ago on the Acropolis, and is well-known from casts (at South Kensington, Oxford, and Cambridge) and from engravings in the histories of sculpture. To this head Studniczka joined an almost shapeless fragment of more recent discovery, which turns out to be the shoulder of the goddess covered with the aegis, on the edges of which were ranged snakes, painted, according to the crude fashion of colouring then in use for marble, with red and green paint. Head and shoulder being thus placed together, it becomes evident that we have before us no detached figure, but part of a group, for Athena looks downward, and her arm is outstretched as if in conflict. And if in conflict, she could not but be represented as victorious, looking down on an overthrown enemy. To find this enemy, it was necessary to examine the numerous fragments of human figures stored in the Acropolis Museum. The lower part of a male figure was discovered which in scale and in species of marble corresponded to the Athena. The position of his legs showed that he was lying on his back. And on the upper surface of one leg were at regular intervals spots which seemed on careful examination to arise from the dripping of water mixed with red and green colour. Now the intervals between these spots corresponded so nearly to the spaces between the different snakes on the aegis of Athena, which were painted in these very colours, as to leave small doubt that it was from these very snakes that the rain-water fell in drops upon the leg of the prostrate man; so he must have lain directly under the aegis. Here then, was the opponent of Athena, a prostrate foe, no doubt one of the earth-born Giants, whom in so many sculptures, and on so

many vases, Athena is represented as overthrowing and slaying.

So far, however, we have only proved a group, not a pediment. But fragments of corresponding Giants, in the store-rooms of the Museum, soon showed that the composition was extensive; and the fact that one side of them was fully worked showed that they stood against some background as in a pediment, and did not make up a free-standing group. Lastly, the lines of breakage of the figures, and the wide dispersion of the fragments, proved that they had fallen from a height. They could thus only belong to a pediment; and the dimensions of a pediment to which they must have belonged being carefully calculated from the height of the central figures, it is asserted that a pediment of exactly that size would suit the temple of Athena. Thus, by an admirable chain of reasoning, Dr. Studniczka has enabled us to restore to the pediment of Peisistratus' temple a representation of a battle of Gods and Giants in which Athena occupied the central position. And we can further tell exactly what was the condition of sculpture, and what the principles of pedimental composition at the time.

The temple of Athena, though the most important of the shrines of the Acropolis in the sixth century, certainly did not stand alone. For we have recovered the whole or part of five or six other pediments of small size, and executed in rough local stone. These compositions now form one of the most conspicuous features of the Acropolis Museum, and arouse the wonder, far more than the admiration, of visitors. To those who are accustomed to consider Greek Art as a thing dropped from the skies, calm, colourless and faultless, they must come with a shock. For both in form and in colour these interesting memorials of the early art of Greece

are bold, awkward, and wanting in all refinement. Perhaps the most curious of them is the pediment put together by the skill of Dr. Brueckner, in which Zeus and Herakles in the midst are fighting back to back against two monsters advancing against them from the corners; on one side the giant snake Echidna, on the other Typhon, a winged figure with three human bodies and interwoven snakes for feet, a monster coloured throughout with brightest red and blue and green, which might seem better suited for the adornment of a Mexican than of a Greek temple to those who have not realised that Greek art, like every other art, was of gradual growth, and started from barbarous beginnings. Interesting as these pediments are historically, one cannot wonder that the contemporaries of Themistocles were very ready to thrust them out of sight. But these sculptures are of older date than that of Peisistratus.

It must not be supposed that the Peisistratid age was one of barbarous art; on the contrary, it is revealed in these excavations as an age of extraordinary progress, and various culture. It is stated that Peisistratus collected and edited the Homeric poems. He also attracted to his brilliant and luxurious court the most celebrated of the artists of all Greece, who set up their productions side by side on the Acropolis, and so laid the foundations of that Attic style in sculpture which by the end of the sixth century was fully formed, and becoming conscious of its high destiny. We have recovered the bases which supported statues by Aristion of Paros, and Aristocles of Crete, by Archermus of Chios, by Endoeus of Ionia, by Callon of Aegina, and others; in a few cases it has been possible to restore to the bases the statues which belonged to them.

No group of statues belonging to this early age has attracted more attention than the very remarkable series

of archaic female figures, clad in the flowing Ionian dress, of which an almost endless series is now set up in the Acropolis Museum, and which must when the Persians broke in have formed quite a crowd of stately statues standing in rows on their dedicative bases somewhere in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena. In style they vary greatly; and it is a fascinating task to trace from one to another the gradual dawn upon the artistic sense of Greece of greater skill in the rendering of difficult detail, of keener love for nature, of clearer feeling for style. Yet all, even the rudest, have something of that inexplicable charm which belongs to archaic Greek Art, and which takes a stronger and stronger hold of students of archaeology. This charm was felt in antiquity by Pausanias, who found something divine in the primitive sculptures of the school of Daedalus, and by Lucian, who praises the sweet and subtle smile of the Sosandra of Calamis. Among ourselves, one may venture to say, it is only archaic art which can arouse a real enthusiasm. It is not Reubens nor even Michael Angelo, who really takes hold of our younger lovers of painting, but Giotto and Fra Angelico. For one young archaeologist who really cares for the Laocoon, or even the Hermes of Praxiteles, three will be found who are strongly affected by the Hestia Giustiniani or the Harpy Tomb. It is a tendency not unnatural in an age when taste is directed rather by the understanding than the senses, and when the tendency to asceticism is so marked among more sensitive natures.

Unfortunately it is found impossible to take casts of these statues, for fear of destroying the delicate remains of colour which yet linger on hair and eyes and dress. So it is not easy without visiting Athens to appreciate them. A useful series of photographs, however, is appearing in Kavvadias' new work, *Les Musées d'Athènes.*

We shall make no attempt at descriptions, which in such cases are useless. But we may say a few words on the interesting question, what was the object of those who set up these statues, and whom of gods or of mortals do they represent?

If we question the statues themselves, and the bases on which they stood, we shall find little material towards a solution. These figures standing stiffly side by side, supporting with one hand their dress and in the other perhaps a flower, looking before them with rigid smile and vacant eyes, seem to embody rather the idea of woman than any set of living ladies. The inscriptions of the bases sometimes tell us that they were dedicated to Athena, or give us the dedicator's or the artist's name, but contain no further information. But it is at once evident that three alternatives lie before us. They might represent the Goddess herself, since according to Greek notions no present could be more acceptable to one of the gods than a well-wrought image of himself. How charming is the dedication written in archaic characters on the base from Melos, probably intended for a statue of Apollo, "Son of Zeus, accept from Ecphantus this blameless statue, for with prayer to thee he finished the graving of it." A temple of ancient Greece is seldom excavated without discovery of statues or statuettes of the deity to whom it was dedicated, placed in it by the grateful hands of those who had found favour in his eyes. Or, secondly, they might represent not the Goddess but her earthly embodiment the priestess. We read that in the vestibule of the great temple of Hera, near Argos, there stood portrait-statues of all her priestesses, including even the careless Chrysis, who had fallen asleep during her ministry, while the sacred lamp set fire to some of the offerings, and the whole temple was burned. Or, thirdly, they might portray votaries of various sorts. The

less educated Greeks were really idolaters; that is to say, they constantly made confusion between a person and an image representing that person, like the witches of a later age; so it was natural enough that they should wish ever to stand if not in person, at least by the proxy of a portrait, in the neighbourhood of a deity in whose power to help they fully believed, and who was present in his temple-image as he was present nowhere else.

These are the three possibilities. But the second may be promptly rejected. The only priestesses of Athena on the Acropolis were the regular priestess of Athena Polias, an aged woman who held office for life, and the Arrephoric maidens, some twelve years of age. The statues in question certainly do not represent children, and they are too numerous to be portraits of the successive priestesses of Athena Polias, each of whom would hold office for many years. So they cannot represent priestesses. But between the other alternatives it is hard to choose. If they represent Athena, it is Athena deprived of her usual attributes, her warlike equipment of helmet and aegis and spear; though we know that at this very time the goddess was usually represented as clad in full armour. And if they represent votaries, these votaries are generalized, and have nothing of individual character in them. Either the deity has given up her divinity for womanhood, or the women have merged their womanhood in something which approaches the divine. Between these alternatives it would not be easy to decide, but for the statement of Pausanias already adduced, that there stood in his time on the Acropolis figures of Athena blackened by the smoke of Persian fires, which seems to suggest that statues not preserved but buried would be not of the Goddess but of her votaries. This argument perhaps must not be

pressed too far; but it does seem to make the scales dip in favour of the human alternative.

Beside these female figures, we have extensive remains of the works of art and of piety which adorned the Acropolis at the opening of the fifth century. There are fragments of horsemen, set up in memory of victories in the games or of deliverance in war, or perhaps of admission into the class of knights; there are reliefs of delicious archaic art representing the Gods or their dealings with men. There is one fragment on which is sculptured a youth driving his chariot, which may possibly be part of the frieze of the Peisistratid temple of Athenâ. There are several portrait-heads, or heads intended for portraits, but telling us more of the school of the artist than of the physiognomy of the subject. There are scribes seated at work, who strongly remind us of the figures of similar functionaries from Egypt. And the bases which supported these dedicated statues, and others which have disappeared, bear the names, one might almost say the autographs, of many prominent Athenian citizens, and of the artists whom they employed in the service of the Gods of Athens.

It is interesting to find among the dedications several by the great Athenian potters of the end of the sixth century, Andocides, Euphronius and others. It is a fresh proof of the wealth of these potters and the consideration which they enjoyed. Many beautiful fragments of vases bearing the names of Euphronius, Hiero, Scythes, and other vase-painters have also been recovered; and these, though in themselves of no very great importance, have given us evidence long looked for, as to the date and the source of the beautiful black-figured and early red-figured vases which now form so prominent a part of the treasures of the great museums of Europe.

It was in the last century that excavations in the

cemeteries of Etruria brought first to light large numbers of ancient vases painted with scenes from the mythology and the daily life of Greece. At first they were called Etruscan vases, in spite of the fact that not only their art and their subject but also their inscriptions were purely Greek. It is only in late years that the fact has been discovered that they were importations from Greek factories, coming in the earlier period from Corinth or Chalcis, and after a time principally from Athens. We may congratulate ourselves on the fortunate circumstance that the wealthy Lucumos of Etruria thought it in good taste to adorn their houses and to fill their graves with these delightful vessels. Our gain is inestimable. It is true that Greek vases have a language of their own ; and probably even well-informed and artistic visitors pass through the vase-rooms of our museums without feeling much interest in their contents. But the language is well worth learning. There is no class of ancient monuments which has risen so rapidly of late years in the estimation of archaeologists. The students who take the pains to understand Greek vases soon discover not only that their art is, within the limits which it studiously observes, most admirable, but also that they carry with them more of the flavour of ancient life than even sculpture or coins. They not only give us abundant information as to the beliefs, the cults and the customs of Greece, but they put us at once, if only they have escaped restoration in modern Italian workshops, on terms of friendship with the potter who moulded and the painter who decorated them. Clay with its marvellous durability preserves for us not only the ultimate design of the worker, but his first sketch, his second thoughts, his mistakes and carelessness, his happy inspirations, and the obstacles which interfered with their realization. A vase bears the same relation to a sculp-

tured relief which a diary bears to a formal historical treatise. It is more local, temporary, and personal. And at the same time vases are among our most serious documents in matters of mythology and mythography. Every year they are used more and more for comparison with the plots of the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides, and the lyric tales of Pindar. Writers now apply the test of vases, as they are perfectly justified in doing, in order to determine the comparative antiquity of various versions of Attic myths, and their popularity among the people. How far brighter and fresher is this source of knowledge than the musty, pedantic pages of an Apollodorus or a Hyginus! In contact with the actual works of the Attic potters the conventional compositions of the Alexandrian mythologists fall to pieces, and we have, in the place of complicated structures of mythological gingerbread, myths living and growing, crossing and recrossing, springing from the heart of the people and finding expression in their customs. It is then no small advantage that we derive from the excavations at the Acropolis, that they really lay a solid foundation for the construction of a history of ancient vase-painting.

To the stirring times which followed the Persian wars belong some of the well-known features of the Acropolis. Cimon and his contemporaries not only made of the surface of the Acropolis a table-land fit for the erection of great buildings, but they began some important monuments and planned more. One magnificent trophy erected out of the Persian spoils remained always a feature of the citadel. This was the great bronze figure of Athena called in later times Promachos, the work of Pheidias, whose glittering spear and helmet were visible out to sea, not indeed from Sunium, as Pausanias seems to imply, since Hymettus intervenes, but at a great

distance. At the same period were set up other dedications full of the rapidly unfolding promise of Attic art. There were paintings by Polygnotus, the Raffaele of antiquity, whom Cimon had brought from Thasos, and who became a citizen of Athens and the originator of that ethical style, pure and self-contained, of which the Parthenon frieze became the fullest embodiment. There were statues by Calamis, whose works, now lost to us, are perhaps among all Greek sculptures those which we should most care to recover; we can form but a very very slight notion of them from the archaizing reliefs of the Neo-Attic school. We have recovered* a basis inscribed with a dedicatory inscription by Callias who fought at Marathon; and it is possible that on it may have stood the celebrated Aphrodite of Calamis; but this is a poor consolation. There were also works by Myron of Discobolus fame, notably his cow, about which the poetasters of antiquity wrote thousands of epigrams, none of which, if we may judge of them by those extant, told anything about the work of art, but only informed men as to the ingenuity of the epigrammatist.

The other works planned at this time were not final. Propylaea were planned to form an entrance on the west, but they had soon to make way for the far more magnificent Propylaea of Pericles. A Parthenon is supposed to have been planned, but it seems not to have risen above the foundations. We cannot be sure why the next generation chose to begin these tasks afresh, instead of working on the projected lines. But it seems likely that the rapid rise of Athenian power and prosperity enlarged the ambition of the architects and artists, and the Delian fund provided them with so large a treasure that they were able to carry out designs of greater magnificence than were a few years before even con-

* Harrison and Verrall, p. 387.

templated. Professor Curtius, in an interesting passage of the work already mentioned* tries to find traces of opposition on the part of the friends of Cimon to the new impulse to deck the city like a courtesan with gold and precious stones.

A question warmly debated in the archaeological camp of late is whether the Peisistratid temple of Athena was rebuilt after the Persian wars or not. Doerpfeld maintains that it was rebuilt without the surrounding stylobate. He pertinently asks where the treasures of the Delian confederacy could have been stored, before Parthenon and Erechtheum were built, save in this old temple. Probably if Doerpfeld had contented himself with the view that the cella was rebuilt for a temporary purpose, and then pulled down on the erection of the Parthenon and Erechtheum, archaeologists would have been indisposed to quarrel with him. But he by no means stops at that point. He tries to show that it still remained standing during all the period of Greek history, and was visited by Pausanias in the Antonine age. Thus extended, the view does incur grave difficulties. We are asked to believe that the beautiful porch of the Erechtheum, with its row of maidens standing to support the roof, was built within two yards of the blank wall of this earlier building (see p. 234); and that at a time when Pericles was adorning the Acropolis with every embellishment which art could devise or money procure, he allowed the very centre of the hill to be occupied by a structure destitute of architectural and sculptural ornament, and only set up in haste for practical purposes.

It is of course impossible here to give even a short account of a controversy which involves the citation of ancient writers and of inscriptions, as well as the weigh-

* p. 140.

ing of architectural evidence. Doerpfeld's arguments have been met point by point by Petersen, the late Head of the German School, and the question is still far from being settled. Miss Harrison is as usual entirely on the side of Dr. Doerpfeld, whose arguments she sums up*. She even goes further, and supposes that when Pausanias speaks of the temple of Athena Polias and the treasures it contained, he intends not, as all writers have hitherto supposed, a part of the complex building called the Erechtheum, but this most ancient temple of Athena. At the same time she is obliged to allow that the very archaic wooden figure of Athena which the people of Athens guarded as their most important and venerable treasure, was preserved under the roof of the Erechtheum, thus acknowledging in her theory a weakness which if not fatal is at least serious. It is an interesting as well as a pretty quarrel; but we must leave it to be dealt with by others.

We now reach the great age of Athens, the age of the Olympian Pericles, when every year brought fresh fame and power to Athens abroad, and rendered the city more beautiful within. Never again could come such a conjunction of circumstances. In the midst of a people of highly organized sensibility and keen love of the beautiful, a school of architects and sculptors unrivalled alike in loftiness and delicacy was called upon to adorn a site of incomparable natural beauty, which had been swept clear for them by the Persians and made ready by Cimon. And for resources they were able to draw upon the almost boundless wealth accumulated from the tribute, while close to them lay the mountain Pentelicus composed of the most beautiful marble which the world can show. However splendid their success, it could scarcely reach the level of their opportunity.

* p. 504.

It was at this time that the surface of the Acropolis received the stamp which it wore until the downfall of Paganism. It may be well therefore to recount the principal features of the site; and we would beg the reader to follow us on the plan.

It was of great importance to provide the plateau on the west side with an approach worthy of Athens. The Propylaea of Cimon were set aside as unsatisfactory, and the architect Mnesicles was entrusted with the task of planning new gates; not such gates as might keep out an enemy; for that the Athenians trusted to their ships and the city-wall; but such gates as might properly impress citizen and visitor as they entered. Not only did the Propylaea of Mnesicles form a standing boast to the Athenians, but they still form, as every visitor to Athens knows, a most beautiful and imposing whole. Dr. Doerpfeld has made an interesting discovery, to which he has been led, not by the unearthing of new facts, but by a more careful weighing of those already known. The ground-plan of the building as it stands is evidently irregular, and not in accordance with the principles of Greek architecture. The reason of this is, according to Doerpfeld, that the original plan was not fully carried out. The hall which stands on the right side as one approaches the entrance should have been as large as the hall on the left side, and behind each there was to have been a still more extensive gallery, intended no doubt for the reception of the great works in painting and sculpture, which then every year was producing at Athens. Why the plan was not carried out we cannot be sure, but it is very likely that one reason may have been an objection on the part of the votaries of Artemis Brauronia, on whose precinct the too audacious Mnesicles would fain have trespassed. There is a clear summary of Doerpfeld's reasonings in Miss Har-

rison's book;* it will be to many architects a pleasure to follow them.

Within the enclosure the most prominent monuments were of course those devoted to the worship of Athena. As one passed the Propylaea, her great bronze statue by Pheidias towered over one's head, and behind it was visible the smoke curling up from her great altar, which stood in the open air. On the right hand stood the Parthenon in its unrivalled majesty, and on the left the smaller Erechtheum, with its row of marble maidens sustaining the roof of the southern porch. In regard to these two temples recent excavation has added comparatively little to our knowledge; an exquisite head of the goddess Iris, from the Parthenon frieze, is the chief new addition. The ground beneath their foundations is the only part of the surface of the Acropolis which has escaped a thorough investigation; and it is greatly to be hoped that the zeal for knowledge of the modern Athenians will never lead them to venture on underpinning the two temples in order to search beneath them.

While the Propylaea were being built, one of the skilled masons fell from a height. His life was despaired of; but Athena appeared in a dream to Pericles, and prescribed a remedy, from the use of which the mason recovered. In return Pericles set up a statue of Athena Hygieia, the patroness of medicine, near her altar on the Acropolis. It gives actuality to this pleasing story when we discover close to the Propylaea, possibly on the spot where the mason fell, a basis of a statue bearing an inscription in letters of the time of Pericles, which reads: "The Athenians to Athena Hygieia: Pyrrhus, the Athenian, was the sculptor."

Besides being Virgin, Protector, and Healer, Athena

* p. 355.

was worshipped on the Citadel by other titles. She was also Giver of Victory; and the exquisite little temple of Nike Apteros, which stands just outside the Propylaea, was really dedicated to her, the "Unwinged Victory," in contrast to the ordinary winged victory, who was but her servant and messenger. It used to be supposed that as Ergane, the patroness of work, Athena had a separate sanctuary on the Acropolis. This is now, however denied. It is true that an inscription recording a dedication to Athena Ergane was found in the space between the shrine of Artemis Brauronia and the Parthenon, and in consequence it was supposed that the Deity had there a sacred precinct; but the result of recent excavation is to show that here there stood no shrine, but a stoa, which may have been the Chalcotheca of which Pausanius speaks, and which has been assigned to various spots in the enclosure. Athena Ergane must have had an altar and a cult, but that she had a temple is very doubtful. There was, finally, a statue of Athena Lemnia made by Pheidias, which Lucian, perhaps the best critic of antiquity, declares to have surpassed in grace and beauty all other works of the master.

Next in importance to the cult of Athena was that of the Brauronian Artemis, who possessed a territory behind a wing of the Propylaea, and whose worship bore many marks of great antiquity. There stood in her temple, as we gather from an inscription in the British Museum, two statues, a more ancient seated one, and a later one by Praxiteles. The votaries of Artemis were called bears, and in early times girls clad in bearskins danced in her honour. A little stone bear found on the Acropolis illustrates the custom, which few moderns will hesitate to regard as a remnant of totem-worship. Artemis was everywhere the goddess of child-birth; so we are not surprised to learn from inscriptions that her

temple became a regular wardrobe, where garments of all kinds, dedicated to the formidable deity, with mirrors and many other feminine trifles, were heaped up in profusion.

Other cults had a place, though a less prominent one, on the Acropolis; and of nearly all of them we have some remains in the form of inscriptions found on the spot. There was Aphrodite Pandemos, whose statue, the work of Scopas, was seated on a galloping goat. There were Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe, who had a little shrine by the Propylaea, and Pan, who had a cave on the side of the rock. It is, however, surprising how small a share in the sacred site fell to the higher and more dignified gods, Zeus and Apollo, Hera and Hermes. The men of Athens were content that the great centre of their worship should be their ancestral Athena, the armed Virgin, mistress alike in war and the arts of peace. The fact is remarkable. In Athens women led a secluded life, and were during all the flourishing age of the city of little account, though their influence grew with the decline. Nor was virginity after early youth regarded as either natural or pleasing to the gods. An armed woman could scarcely be more out of place anywhere than at Athens. The old saying that men make the gods in their own likeness fails singularly in this instance. The explanation is probably to be found in the identification of the Deity with her city. It was no worship of Humanity which held the Athenians, but a worship of the beautiful and glorious city of the violet crown, a veneration for their illustrious ancestors, and a conviction that alike in arts and arms they held the lead of the whole world. The object of their cultus was an idealized and glorified embodiment of their civic life.

If, with Pausanias, we could have spent a day amid

the splendid dedications and crowded statues of the Acropolis, we should have found many things to astonish us, and to widen our notions of classical art, which are far too narrow and conventional, too much shaped by the Roman copyist and the Italian restorer, by the outworn views of Winckelmann and Lessing, and the conventional proprieties of the Vatican and the Capitol. The ancient Athenians were not classical in the narrow sense in which the age of the Antonines, or the age of Louis XIV., was classical. They followed impulse freely; but the impulse in turn was kept in check by a clear perception of the conditions under which works of art of various sorts must be executed, and a frank acceptance of traditional types, as well as the sense of what was beautiful, and the love of what was natural. One cannot but wish that some copy or record remained to us of the statue of Diitrephes, pierced by arrows, apparently an anticipation of the S. Sebastian of Christian painters, or of the bronze figure of the Trojan horse by Strongylion, with Menestheus and Teucer, Demophon and Acamas, looking out from his side, two works of which we have the bases only. One cannot but wish that we could restore the group which represented Athena leaping full-armed from the head of Zeus, or the bronze Theseus lifting the natural rock to recover his father's sandals. One cannot but long for an hour in the Pinacotheca, amid the paintings of Polygnotus and Aglaophon, so infinitely removed from the superficialities and vulgarities of Pompeii. These things are gone for ever, and it is perhaps a poor consolation to know that we have of late become better able to appreciate their loss.

We must not, however, imitate the modern Athenians by ignoring the Athens of the times which succeeded Pericles, but must recount, however briefly, the existing

monuments of the Acropolis dating from later and less splendid ages.

Of the brief revival of Athenian power in the fourth century there are extant traces in the bases which once supported the statues of Conon and Timotheus mentioned by Pausanias, and in a number of interesting tablets which record the alliances and the decrees of the restored Athenian empire. Of the Alexandrine age are the choragic monuments of Nicias and of Thrasyllus, the latter of which was still surmounted in the time of the traveller Stuart by the seated statue of Dionysus, since removed to the British Museum. The kings of Pergamon have bequeathed to us enduring memorials of their love for Athens in the great stoa, of which remains still exist in the rear of the stage-buildings of the theatre, and in the figures of overthrown Giants and Amazons and Persians, executed in the Pergamene style, now preserved in several of the museums of Europe. The basis of the statue erected to Agrippa in the earliest days of the Roman Empire may still be seen outside the Propylaea, and recent researches have revealed the foundations of the temple of Rome and Caesar, the emblem of the incorporation of the city of Athena in the world-wide dominion of the Romans. Several existing buildings at Athens date also from the time of Hadrian, and bear testimony to the philhellenic propensities of an emperor who sought to restore animation to the Greek nation, and only succeeded in galvanizing the corpse of the race.

Thereafter every century took something from the glory of Athens, and added nothing to it. The main blame for the wanton destruction of the memorials of their own greatness rests on the Greeks, though doubtless Turks and Venetians have done their part in the work of ruin. The share of England deserves rather praise than blame

There is still in some quarters a mistaken notion, fostered by the poems of Byron, and encouraged by Greek Chauvinists, that one of the worst spoilers of later ages was Lord Elgin. But the facts of history not only justify the action of Elgin, but prove that he must be classed among public benefactors. He knew that in all probability if the sculptures of the Parthenon were left where they were, they would shortly perish. And in fact had they been left they would have suffered severely in the troubled days of the Greek revolt. The west end of the Parthenon which he had stripped of its sculptures was exposed for a year in 1826 to the repeated blows of Turkish cannon-balls. The so-called Caryatid of the Erechtheum which Elgin carried off has been preserved intact, the five which he left *in situ* suffered severely in the revolutionary war. The reliefs of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates which he spared have since been so much defaced, that the cast taken in Elgin's time preserves many details which they have lost. And in addition the art of Europe received the impulse imparted by the exquisite Pheidian sculptures many years earlier than would have been the case had they remained at Athens. The visitor at Athens cannot help a moment's regret when he looks at the blank spaces in the pediments and on the cella walls of the Parthenon, and in imagination fills them with the sculptures which represent the birth of Athena and the Panathenaic Procession. But a little reflection shows him that it was a wise prudence which removed the jewels from a casket exposed to a hundred risks, and not then guarded by any strong national feeling. Beyond doubt had Elgin left the sculptures on the temple, the Greeks themselves would before now, in justifiable zeal for their better preservation, have transferred them to the galleries of their new and spacious museums. Moreover, Michaelis and Boet-

ticher, although as Germans free from national bias in the matter, fully allow that in possessing herself of the Parthenon sculptures, England conferred a benefit on the world.

Had the artistic treasures brought to the west from the Athenian Acropolis, from Aegina, from Bassae remained in Greece, Athens would have been too rich and the rest of the world too poor in what is after all the common possession of civilized man. But the Greeks have the future in their own hands. And we must expect that year by year the harvest of sculpture in the Athenian and provincial museums will grow richer and richer, until the country recovers something of the position which it held in the days of Pausanias as the most glorious storehouse in the world of the sculpture of the only nation which ever really understood sculpture. The voyage to Athens, already exercising every year a stronger attraction on the cultivated classes, will become more and more an essential part of education. And those who still believe that classical training is the best means of developing the humane side of men will be unwise if they fail to appreciate this growing advantage which has fallen in their way, or to use it as a means of giving actuality to Greek literature and history, and enthusiasm to those occupied with them.

CHAPTER IX.

OLYMPIA AND THE FESTIVAL.

IN order that the study of history may duly fulfil its mission in enlarging the ideas and widening the charity of mankind, it is essential that both the writers and the readers of historical works should use the imagination not less than the intellect and the memory. It is not enough to study the chronicles of past days; what we want is to re-live the life of past days; to sympathize with the hopes and fears, to share the beliefs and the sentiments, of the age and the country which we make our study; to image to ourselves its daily life; to fall into its ways of thinking.

The historical training of the imagination is a long and laborious task. Nor can it ever be completed by the study of documents and of literature; though these, of course, have their place in the curriculum. But it is also necessary that the imagination should be approached through the senses. We must not only read, but feel and see. Thus, there are only two methods by which it is possible adequately to carry the imagination through past episodes of history. One is to study in museums the material relics—the corpses, so to speak—left by those episodes; the other is to visit their graves—the scenes where those episodes took place—and there follow with patience and reverence their details.

It is most fortunate when these methods can be combined; when in visiting the scene of great events we see also on all sides traces of their course and results of their energy. This is now the case at Olympia. The result of the excavations carried on there at great cost and with supreme disinterestedness by the German people has been to enable the traveller at Olympia not only to study the scene of the greatest of Greek athletic festivals, but to trace the celebration from hour to hour and from point to point. He not only sees the hill of Cronion, where the spectators crowded, wades through Olympic dust, and feels the sun of Olympia beat on his head; but he can wander on the threshold of the Temple of Zeus, pass from building to building in the sacred enclosure of the Altis, and stand at the starting-point of the runners in the Stadium. Taking the guide-book of the old Greek traveller Pausanias in our hand, we can follow in his steps; and out of broken pillars, truncated pedestals, and the foundations of demolished buildings, we can conjure forth the beautiful Olympia of old, with its glorious temples, its rows of altars, its statues of gods and godlike men who conquered in the games, its treasuries full of the noblest works of art and the richest spoils of war. And we can people the solitude with the combatants and with the spectators, a crowd filled with the enthusiasm of the place and with delight in manly contests; a crowd over whom emotions swept as rapidly as the chariots through the hippodrome, and who were ever breaking out into wild cries of delight or loud shouts of scorn and derision. We can see the bestowal of the crowns of wild olive, and can hear the heralds recite the names of those who have been victorious.

Scarcely any chapter of Greek history is of more interest, or contains more instruction for modern readers, than that which records the rise and the fall of Greek

athletic sports. The chapter is a short one. The bloom of all the promising institutions of Greece was short. Abuse soon succeeded use; excess supervened on moderation; and the same causes which had made the greatness of the people, in matters athletic as in other matters, also caused its decline and eclipse.

So long as Greece lived at all, and education in any way embodied national ideas, the physical training of the body was much regarded. An harmonious development of body and mind was sought in all systems of training; and an erect carriage, well-turned limbs, and activity of movement, were considered as necessary to the gentleman as modesty and good sense. From their earliest years the boys frequented not only the house of the teacher who instructed in reading and writing, but also the palaestra of the athlete who carefully trained their bodies with various exercises. The greatest of Greek philosophers, when they discussed ideal possibilities in education, never dreamed of neglecting its more corporeal side. Aristotle maintained that gymnastic training ought to begin earlier than that of the mind; and Plato, in the *Laws*, advocated the system of restricting boys to the exercises of the gymnasium until their tenth year, and only allowing them to take up letters when their physical frame was already formed. As the boys grew older, they frequented new places of training, and learned new exercises. The ball and the hoop gave way to the discus and wrestling; but no Greek youth at any stage of his life would pass a day without devoting some hours at least to systematic development of his body. On the banks of some pleasant stream, and beneath the shade of groves of platanus, were the early palaestras of the Greeks. Here in the open air and during the heat of the day the men and the lads contended one with the other in mimic contest, or sedulously set themselves

to overcome any physical defect or awkwardness of person. Here all, except the classes who were bound by sordid necessity to the market or the workshop, met in the afternoon to gain an appetite for dinner, and to mix with the circle of their friends in talking, in running, in leaping, or in enjoying the most beautiful of all sights, that of the healthy human body in vigorous action. Grave and elderly men, generals, priests, and magistrates, were not too stiff or too dignified to lay aside their clothes and enter the stadium or the wrestling-ring. And in this pure democracy of the palaestra he was king who was in person most beautiful and fittest for the various contests; he alone was despised who was mean in body or wanting in energy for the conflict.

To the life of the palaestra a new meaning and aim was given by the establishment of the great athletic festivals of Greece. Even in heroic times there had been, on the death of a chief, funereal sports wherein his companions in arms displayed their strength and activity. Homer's heroes compete in running, wrestling, and the driving of chariots. Peleus vanquished his contemporaries in wrestling and the pentathlum, and Milanion won Atalanta by his swiftness of foot. But the introduction of the great festivals at stated times brought system into athletic contests. Now athletes from the farthest ends of the Hellenic world could be sure of meeting formidable competitors, and had a chance of trying for the championship of Hellas. At first men contended at Olympia in running only, a fact which makes it seem likely that the sports of the heroic age were somewhat out of use; but before long, wrestling, the pentathlum, and other contests were added.

The ideas of the different races and cities of Greece of course varied as to the nature of physical perfection and the objects of gymnastic training. With the Spar-

tans endurance and hardness were most thought of; among the Ionians grace and symmetry were worshipped. The Boeotians cultivated wrestling in a marked manner. Croton was noted for the great stature and force of her athletes; Aegina sent forth men highly skilled in pugilism. But, setting aside these minor differences, we may find some distinctive features which specially marked the athletics of the Greeks in general.

The most striking of these, and indeed the key to them all, was the custom of complete nudity during exercise. Runners, wrestlers, leapers and boxers, whether practising among themselves or performing at the games beneath the eyes of assembled multitudes, divested themselves of every shred of clothing. Over and over again we find it mentioned by the writers as one of the marks of distinction between Greeks and barbarians that, while the latter were ashamed to show themselves naked, a true Hellene thought no shame in doing so. This was a result brought about by gymnastic training. But when it was established it seemed, to every true Greek, part of the order of nature. The Lydians, Herodotus naïvely remarks, are ashamed to be seen naked, even the men of them. Not long ago, says Plato, the Greeks thought, just like the barbarians, that it was a shame and an absurdity for a man to appear naked. The very first thing, says Solon in a dialogue of Lucian, which an athlete has to learn, is to expose his unprotected body to all kinds of weather. Such exposure was made more possible by a free use of oil, which the Greek daily rubbed into every part of his body, and which probably had the effect not only of protecting its surface against sun and wind, but of diminishing the flow of perspiration and of rendering the joints supple and elastic. Over the oil was sprinkled fine sand, which had a detergent effect. Baths too were greatly used in

the Greek gymnasia, not warm baths so much until late times, but frequent cold plunges in the river and douches beneath a fountain.

Such training must have had a wondrous effect in rendering the body hard and healthy, and the skin soft and supple. This question, however, we leave to physicians, and speak only of the outward physical and moral effects of the life. The first result would be ruddiness of body. When Agesilaus stripped his Persian prisoners, their white bodies caused the utmost ridicule among the bronzed Greek soldiers, who looked on them as on women brought up delicately in houses. In Greek paintings the bodies of women are rendered by white colour, but those of men are red, and this no doubt only reproduces the facts of daily life. And with ruddiness there was joined the utmost symmetry. Grace and rhythm of movement and form aroused enthusiastic admiration wherever Greek men practised together. This, all strove to imitate, all looked for in friend and connection, all desired to perpetuate. Statues of the most beautiful and vigorous men, of victorious athletes in particular, were erected by the hundred and thousand, not at Olympia only, but in every city of Greece. Of these a small remnant remains to testify to us of Greek physical perfection. Modern sculptors sigh in vain for models which can compare with them; in the gymnastic rooms at our Universities we see no forms so powerful, yet so well-balanced and light. Yet Galen states that in his day many of the young men were not inferior in physique to the statues of great sculptors.

It is this habit of constantly watching the beautiful and powerful bodies of athletes in every attitude and in every kind of exercise, which accounts for many of the peculiarities of the Greek nature. It accounts for the unrivalled excellence of their sculpture; they had not

to copy in a studio the limbs of a single unsatisfactory model, but were able by comparison of form with form daily to grow in knowledge of every part of the human frame, and daily to raise their standard as to the possibilities of human perfection. The shapes of men became as familiar to sculptor and painter as those of the sheep to a shepherd or those of horses to a groom. These artists became intoxicated with the beauty of men, until every force of nature presented itself to them under a human aspect; until all their decoration consisted in the introduction of human forms; nay, even abstract qualities, events, and places, seemed to clothe themselves with flesh and blood.

There is another aspect in which we may regard Greek athletic sports, that is as a training for war. Some of the contests were of a distinctly warlike character, such as running a race with a shield on one's arm, and such as hurling the spear. And in days when man clashed against man and a duel often ended in a personal grapple, it was no mean advantage to be a good wrestler. Plutarch attributes the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra to their superiority in wrestling to the Lacedaemonians, wrestling being a special art of the Boeotians. Indeed, if we examine any one of the numerous friezes from Greek temples which represent groups of fighters, we may see at once how much the victory depended on personal force and agility.

The most learned and laborious of the German writers on the Greek games, Dr. Krause, concludes his work* with a comparison between ancient and modern athletic sports, resulting in the claim of immense superiority in the Greeks over any moderns. But Dr. Krause's standard of modern proficiency was that of the German *Turnvereins* of forty years ago. It is since that time that

* *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen.*

athletic contests very closely resembling those of the Greeks have been introduced in our English cities, and especially have taken deep root at our Universities. Mr. Mahaffy* has more recently compared our English athletics with those of Olympia and the Isthmus, and decided far more favourably for the moderns. The proficiency of modern athletes may be tested by any one who will pass a day in witnessing their competitions. But it is not an easy task to estimate properly the skill of the Greeks in this manner, and in our opinion Mr. Mahaffy takes by far too mean a view of it. In some matters he is distinctly unjust. Thus, he tries to show that Greek pugilists did not hit straight from the shoulder, and quotes a passage of Virgil in support of this view; adducing also the supposed fact that it was the ears of Greek boxers, and not their noses and cheeks, which suffered in their encounters. But Virgil knew very little about Greek athletics; and it would be easy to adduce several passages from ancient writers which show that Greek boxers attacked nose and mouth not less than other parts of the face. The battered ears belonged to pancratiasts rather than boxers. On vases we see representations of boxers standing one against another in well-balanced attitudes, their heads thrown back and their arms well advanced; and unless the physique of the combatants is very falsely depicted, their blows must have been delivered with immense force. Mr. Mahaffy ridicules the tales of Greek prowess in leaping, and certainly we are driven into scepticism when we hear of Phayllus clearing fifty feet at a bound, but it is extremely probable that the ancients had studied the theory of leaping more than we, and were able by means of the weights which they held in their hands to propel their bodies for considerable distances.

* In *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxxvi. p. 61.

During the recent excavations one curious memorial of Greek prowess has come to light at Olympia—an oval mass of rock two feet in length and one in depth, which bears an inscription testifying that one Bybon raised it with one hand above his head and hurled it—whither we cannot clearly make out.

In fact, in the matter of athletic sports our more complicated civilisation gives us no advantage. Red Indians run as fast as English professionals, and some of the most distinguished pugilists have been negroes. In these matters four things alone give success—strength, address, science, and practice. All four of these the Greeks united in the highest degree. Bodily forms such as theirs must have been admirably adapted for every exploit, whether of force, activity, or endurance. They lived in the open air, had no sedentary employment, did not trouble themselves about reading of any kind, or that study which is destruction to an athlete, practised for hours every day, and had the utmost inducement to attain the highest possible perfection. So the mass of their young men reached, during the best age of Greek history, a stage of physical prowess and perfection which has probably never been attained in any other age or country. And the custom of doing all exercises to the sound of the flute would tend to produce measure and a studied grace of movement conspicuously absent in some of the most celebrated of modern athletes.

Once in every four years the heralds from Elis proclaimed through all the cities of Greece a sacred truce which was to last for a month. In the midst of that month, from the eleventh to the sixteenth day, was the great athletic festival of Zeus at Olympia. The earlier and the later days of the month were occupied with the journey to the spot and the return homeward. War, business, and pleasure, were alike stayed; and the roads

leading to Olympia were daily more and more thronged with a mingled crowd. Woe to the man who molests one of the pilgrims of the Deity on his sacred journey! Zeus, the protector of strangers, will guard his votaries, and severe judgments from Heaven will dog the steps of the sacrilegious offender during life or drag him to an early grave.

We are accustomed to think of the Greeks as all alike; yet it is certain that the spectators who watched the crowds pouring towards Olympia along the road which passed up the Alpheus into Arcadia, or that which led to the sacred port of Pheia, witnessed wide differences of type and of dress. From all the shores of the Mediterranean and the Euxine Seas the Greek colonies sent deputations to represent them at the games, to bear offerings to the temple, and to perform sacrifices on their behalf. And the Greeks readily took a tinge from the land wherein they dwelt. There were dwellers on the northern shore of the Black Sea, to whom constant intercourse and frequent intermarriage with their Scythian neighbours gave almost the aspect of nomads; and colonists from Massilia, who in dress and blood were half Gauls. There were people of Cyrene, with the hot blood and dark complexion of Africa, and oriental Ionians with trailing robes and effeminate airs. There were rude pirates from Acarnania, and delicate sensualists from Cyprus. And not only were various climates and different stages of civilisation represented, but all social classes and all occupations. The rich rode on horseback, with a train of slaves following, or were gently transported in a litter on the shoulders of stalwart bearers; the poor marched in troops, carrying their frugal provisions with them. Here might be seen a merchant with a large stock of oriental draperies, or of works of art adapted for votive purposes, of which he

hoped to dispose during the festival; there, a poet eager to recite his verses amid the throng, or a musician carrying his precious lyre with him. Here was a statuary, with his coppersmiths, hoping to secure orders for statues of victors; there a gymnastic trainer, eager to learn the latest fashion in wrestling, or to watch the prowess of a former pupil. Many would come to fulfil a vow undertaken at some time of sorrow or sickness, many to consult the various oracles at Olympia as to future conduct or past events, to seek the aid of some deity in marrying a daughter, or detecting a thief. Many would come to display their wealth before the eyes of Greece, many to hear news from all parts of the world, or to ask after seafaring relations, or friends who had long been absent and unheard-of. In one point the throng was very noteworthy—it contained no women. The long journey, the fatigue of witnessing the contest, the character of the competitions, were all quite unfit for the carefully-nurtured and secluded women of the Ionian and Achaean races; even the Dorian women, who dwelt at less distance, and were not unused to mingle with men, were mostly or even entirely excluded. Pausanias indeed says that although married women were not admitted, virgins might be spectators of the festival; but it is much doubted whether this statement is not based on some misunderstanding.

Arriving at Olympia the visitors had to provide themselves with quarters. There was probably no city on the spot, certainly none at all capable of containing the arriving multitudes; few buildings besides the religious edifices and those used by judges, trainers, and athletes. The strangers had to pitch themselves tents in the field surrounding the Altis, or sleep in the stone porticoes. A vast camp arose, and in the days preceding the festival the camp became a fair. Merchants set up their booths,

and money-changers their tables, all the classes of artists tried to collect audiences and admirers, crowds attended the exercises of the athletes who were in training, or admired the practice of the horses and chariots which were entered for races. Heralds recited treaties, military or commercial, recently formed between Greek cities, in order that they might be the more widely known. The representatives of the various cities passed from altar to altar, sacrificing to the deities whose favour they most coveted; and the dignitaries of Elis offered a series of public sacrifices in a regular order mentioned by Pausanias, the earliest honours being awarded to Hestia and the Olympian Zeus.

The judges appointed by the people of Elis to conduct the festival were called Hellanodicae. Their number varied between eight and twelve. Their first business was to conduct an examination of the candidates who wished to enter for the various contests. Duty to Zeus himself required that no person who was not of Greek blood, that no one who had been convicted of crime, or guilty of impiety, that no member of a city which had incurred the divine wrath, should be admitted. Candidates had also to prove that for ten months they had been undergoing a regular course of training in a gymnasium, and to practise for the thirty days preceding the festival at the great gymnasium of Elis, under the eyes of the Hellanodicae themselves. After undergoing these tests their names were placed on a white board, and suspended at Olympia. After this there was no drawing back. He who, when the time came, shrank from the contest, was adjudged a coward, and fined with a fine as heavy as that inflicted on men guilty of bribery, or of taking an unfair advantage of an opponent. The greatest of Greek athletes, Theagenes, entered at Olympia for the contests of boxing and the pancratium. In the

former he was victorious, but suffered so severely that he was unfit for the terrible test of the pancratium, and even he was remorselessly fined, as failing to appear through cowardice.

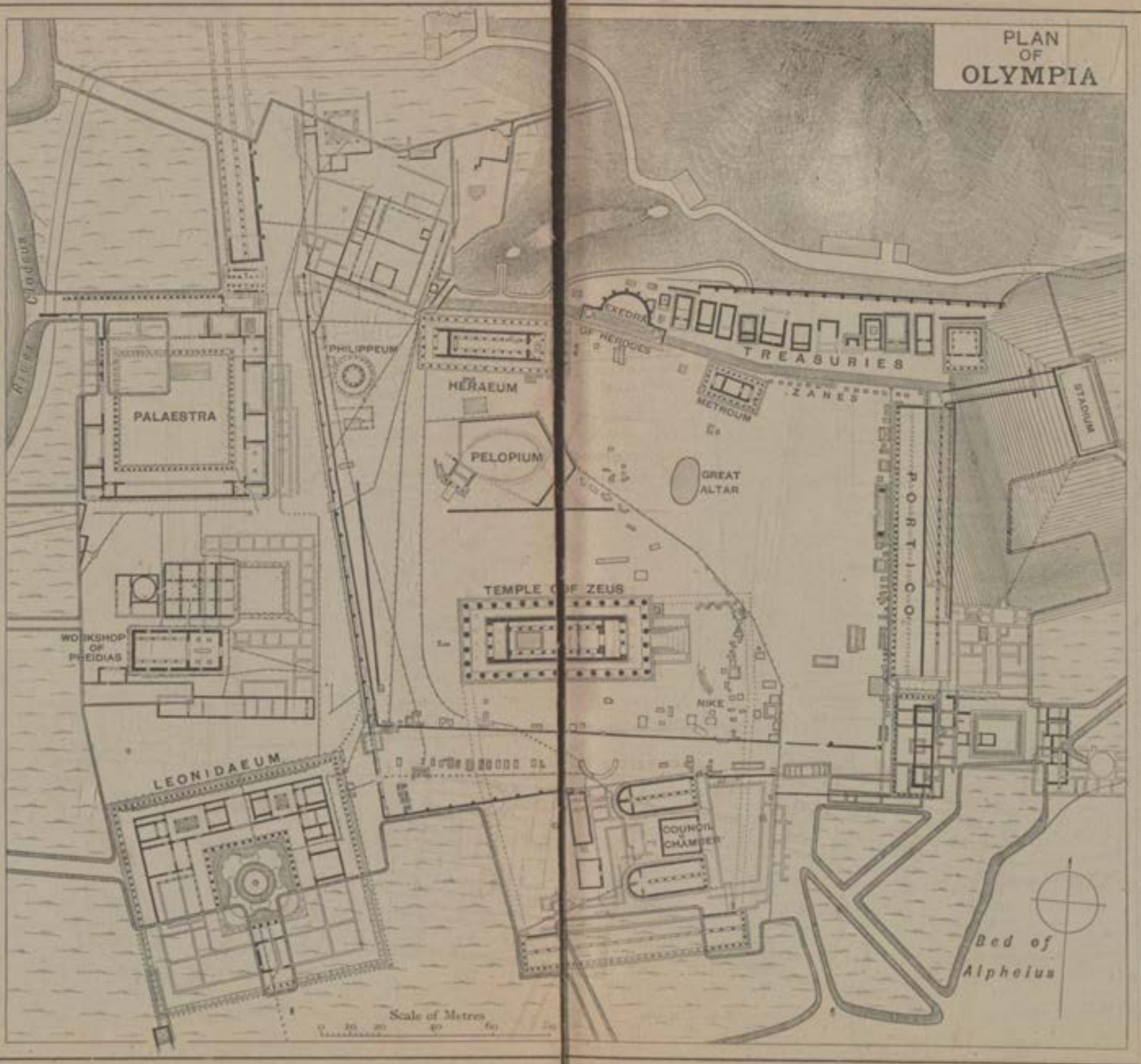
When the candidates enrolled themselves they offered a boar in sacrifice, at the altar of Zeus Horcius, the hearer of oaths, which stood in the Senate-House, and swore solemnly to observe the laws of the contest. After they were entered, they and their friends alike besieged the altars of those deities who specially interested themselves in the games, and more particularly of the heroes who had in mythical ages distinguished themselves in the various sports. Charioteers sought the Heroum of Pelops; pancratiasts specially invoked the aid of Hercules, pentathli implored the assistance of Peleus, and boxers appealed to the protection of Euthymus, a boxer of historical times, but of world-wide fame.

The leisure days before the festival would, by most of the visitors, be spent in great part amid the temples and statues of the Altis. And we are now, in consequence of the results of the German excavations, enabled to form a clear and satisfactory idea as to what they would have found there to awaken their emotions of admiration and piety. The central point of it, alike in a material and a religious sense, was the great Temple of Zeus. Towards this, every visitor would at once make his way, entering at the southern gate of the Altis, and passing along the sacred road, trodden by frequent processions between monuments erected in memory of Olympian victors and illustrious men—monuments whereof the bases still exist, with inscriptions reading like epitaphs to tell us how much of beauty and of excellence we have lost for ever. Towering above the crowd of distinguished men, a little to the right of the road, was the wonderful Victory of Paeonius on her tall triangular base. The

discovery of this figure, a cast of which is now set up in the British Museum, was the first important result reached by the German explorers, and the first inscription which they copied was the memorable lines, engraved below it, recording the victory of the Messenians and Naupactians over their "enemies." We gather from Pausanias that these enemies were the Lacedaemonians, and that the event really commemorated was the calamity of Sphacteria, but that those who erected the trophy dared not be more explicit. A little further on stood the bronze bull dedicated by the Eretrians, of which an ear has been recovered.

All these monuments the visitor might pass without notice in his eagerness to behold the great temple. There is now scarcely any temple in Greece of which we can form a juster idea than of this. The foundations are complete, even the pavement remains in parts, and the columns lie side by side close to the temple, just as they fell in the earthquake which shattered the fabric. To a large extent the structure might be built again from the old materials, which lie on the site in a disorder beneath which a real order may be sometimes discerned. And it is not only the shell of the edifice which remains; the metopes which adorned its ends, and the compositions which filled its two pediments, have been slowly recovered, piece by piece, from the ground, until we can form a very distinct notion of the sculpture of the temple; only that the great chryselephantine statue of Pheidias, the chief glory of Olympia, and the embodiment of the highest Greek notion of divinity, has perished completely. It is supposed that the only direct copy of it which has come down to us from antiquity is to be found on bronze coins of Elis, of the age of Hadrian.

The student who would study the Olympian temple



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may supplement a visit to the new museum at Olympia itself by one to the museums of Berlin or Dresden, where casts of the marbles found at Olympia have been arranged by scientific hands into groups such as they may originally have formed.* Here the student will find the pedimental groups recomposed, as far as is at present possible, and can judge of the appearance they must have presented to the ancient visitor at Olympia.

According to Pausanias, in the eastern pediment Paeonius represented the chariot-race between Oenomaus and Pelops; in the western pediment Alcamenes portrayed the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithae at the marriage of Pirithous. Both of these groups are full, to the archaeologist, of instruction, and to the artist, it must be confessed, of disappointment. It might have been expected that the great sculptors who worked at Olympia, the elder contemporaries of Pheidias, would have left us something which might in its way rival the marvellous grace and charm which belong to the pedimental groups of the Parthenon. All critics are agreed that this expectation has not been realised, and the art-loving part of the public seems to have made up its mind that the Olympian pediments may be neglected or despised. It is true that some of the groups which represent Centaurs struggling with their prey are of great force of design, and that some of the standing and reclining figures are by no means devoid of a certain largeness and nobility of treatment. But it is agreed that the whole effect, more especially of the

* The literature on the subject of the arrangement of these pediments is very extensive; most of it is in the pages of the German Archaeological *Jahrbuch* of the last few years. The little models of Gruettner to be found in all museums of casts afford a useful but somewhat misleading means for comparing the various views.

Oenomaus group, is poor; that the drapery of the figures is rendered in a shallow and feeble manner; that the faults of execution are numberless. Indeed, an ordinary student of art will find, in an hour's study of these figures, faults which in our day an inferior sculptor would not commit. And, what it still worse to a modern eye, the figures are not only faulty, but often displeasing, and the heads have a heaviness which sometimes seems to amount to brutality, and are repellent, if not absolutely repulsive.

That which repels the artist, attracts the archaeologist, who is bound to explain how this character can attach to sculptures from the most celebrated temple in Greece. In seeking an explanation we have lighted on many new truths. It has been suggested by Professor Brunn, that the peculiarities of Olympian sculpture arise from the circumstance that both Paeonius and Alcamenes were trained in the peculiar schools of Northern Greece. Others have fancied that these two artists only furnished the designs for the pedimental groups, and that these designs were very much marred in the execution by the clumsiness of the Peloponnesians who were employed as craftsmen. It can scarcely be doubted that there is much truth in this latter part of the theory, and we may safely lay to the credit of unskilled stone-masons the smaller defects of the pedimental sculptures. But, even then, the artist who designed the Chariot-contest can scarcely be acquitted of jejuneness and poverty, and he who designed the Combat of Centaurs sins quite as deeply in the direction of excess of strain and deficiency in sobriety. In fact, the composition as well as the execution is of provincial character, and the safest plan is absolutely to reject Pausanias' assignment of the pediments to Alcamenes and Paeonius, and to suppose that they are entirely due to a local school of sculpture.

The clearest result of the whole controversy is the perception how far Pheidias was in advance of his predecessors in the construction of groups and in all qualities of design, and how superior were the Athenian stone-cutters in knowledge of their craft to those of other parts of Greece. This is a lesson which we might have learned already from a study of the frieze of the temple at Bassae; but now we are not likely ever to forget it.

The metopes from the Temple of Zeus, representing the various Labours of Heracles by an unknown artist, though showing the same qualities of art, are certainly more pleasing than the pedimental groups. They are not, indeed, without rudeness and stiffness, but in their backward style there is the charm which so usually marks the works of early Greek art, but which the pediments have lost, without getting knowledge and mastery in exchange. One of the most marked characteristics of the metopes is the want of elaboration in detail. The hair and beards of the figures are merely blocked out; the parts of the garments are not clearly distinguished from one another. Critics have long seen that evidently the artist who made these groups trusted chiefly to the use of colour for the effect of his compositions. And actual discovery has entirely verified this conjecture. Among the discoveries is a head of Heracles, from that metope wherein he is strangling the lion. Of this head the hair and eyes still bear distinct traces of colour. In the group of Heracles and the bull, the background was blue, and the body of the bull brown. Another metope had a red background. It is thus quite certain that the sculpture of the metopes of the temple was painted throughout. And, indeed, the pedimental groups were also painted, for a part of the chlamys worn by the middle figure of the western

pediment has been found still stained with a deep red colour. And colour was not confined to the sculpture, but extended also to the architectural decoration. All the buildings of Doric order at Olympia are largely coloured in blue and red. The pillars are not coloured, but the triglyphs are of an intense blue, the abacus beneath them red. Of the cornices the cymatia have blue and red leaves alternately, and the viae are blue and red. It is clear from these very exact indications, that we shall always greatly misjudge Greek architecture and sculpture if we think of them as cold and colourless. And although the colours of the ancients may seem crude, and their juxtaposition harsh, yet it is certain that the climate of Greece requires that the brilliancy of marble should be moderated by colour of a strong degree. The Athens of our day, because the mansions in it are built of pure white marble, is most dazzling to the eyes, and all beauty of form in the buildings is lost amid the glare of the cloudless Athenian sky.

A little to the north of the great Temple of Zeus was the Pelopium. The space between, as Pausanias says, as well as the precinct of the Pelopium itself, was a grove of trees and full of statues. The chapel of the chief hero of Olympia nestled close to the temple of the chief deity of Olympia, and there was the closest connexion between the honours rendered to Pelops and the worship offered to Zeus. But Pelops would seem to be the older dweller in the Altis.

Close by, again, was the huge elliptical altar of Zeus, of which the base was of stone, but the whole of the upper part consisted of the ashes of victims moistened with the sacred water of the Alpheius. In the solid mass of ashes steps were cut, whereby men could mount to the summit of the altar; but women, even at those

seasons when they might come within the Altis, were not allowed to walk on the ashes.

A little farther still to the north was the Temple of Hera. The worship of Hera was quite as ancient at Olympia as that of Zeus, and belonged in a special degree to the people of Elis. The temple of the goddess was built in nearly the same form as that of the god; but it was smaller and decidedly more ancient. Some parts of it were to the last made of the primitive wood, though in most parts the wood had decayed and been replaced with stone. In every respect Hera stood to the women of Elis in the same relation in which her lord stood to the men of Elis. The men had an athletic contest in honour of Zeus; and the virgins of Elis ran races in honour of Hera. The Hellanodicae were picked from the tribes of the country, to conduct the festival of Zeus; and women were chosen from the same tribes to preside at the festival of Hera, and, in addition, to weave every year a robe for the goddess.

Of the Heraeum no sculptured remains exist, like those which bring before our eyes the glories of the Temple of Zeus. The marvellous riches which Pausanias beheld stored up within the temple, among which was the wondrous coffer of Cypselus, and the disk of Iphitus, on which was inscribed the proclamation of the Olympic truce, have disappeared. Only two important pieces of sculpture remain. Of these the first is the head of a large and very early statue of Hera herself. It may indeed belong to the primitive seated statue of Hera which Pausanias mentions, and which was set up as her representative in the temple as soon as ever the Greeks began to venture on anything more ambitious than the primitive pillars and xoana. The huge flat face and rude features remind us of the earliest sculptures from

Selinus, and make even the archaic Hera of the Ludovisi gallery seem modern. The other piece of sculpture has already gained world-wide fame, and casts of it are everywhere. It is the statue by Praxiteles of Hermes carrying the child Dionysus, which Pausanias mentions as having been dedicated in the Temple of Hera, and which was found there by the German explorers lying on its face within the cella, broken indeed, yet with its surface almost uninjured, a wondrous contribution to our knowledge of art, and an addition to our pleasures for all time.

The statues of the Parthenon belong to the school of Pheidias, and those of the temple at Tegea to the school of Scopas; but we cannot lay our hand on any one of the figures and say, This is the veritable work of the great master. Of the works of Myron, Polycleitus, Praxiteles, we have many copies, some earlier and some later, some better and some worse. But we had nothing of which we were sure that it contained no misunderstandings and no embellishments of a later hand. Now for the first time we possess a work which may with reasonable certainty be attributed to one of the very greatest sculptors of antiquity, and for every line and touch of which we can hold him responsible.

That this figure of Hermes is of surpassing beauty is acknowledged by all. Though it is wanting in the lofty idealism of Pheidias, and the boldness of design and anatomical detail of the later Greek schools, yet it has charms of its own which strike every observer. Power and grace are mingled in charming proportions in the figure of the deity, and in his face is a sweetness of expression which is most attractive. The surface is admirably finished, and we find everywhere the originality and absence of convention which ordinarily mark the work of a master-hand. We are perhaps somewhat

surprised to find, that at a period in Greek art so comparatively early as that of Praxiteles, every trace of archaic stiffness had disappeared; that the god, indeed, may almost be said to lounge. And though there is no effeminacy in the form, we may find its softness and roundness of outline to exceed our expectations. But in that case, all we have to do is slightly to correct our notions of the art of Praxiteles. He seems to have entirely accomplished his mission of calling the gods down to earth, and thoroughly clothing them in the flesh of beautiful humanity. His style suited the Greek taste better than the loftier manner of Pheidias, and the effect it had on the whole Greek world was immediate and prodigious. The influence of Pheidias, as is the way when artists strike too high a note, spread but slowly in Greece; but that of Praxiteles and Scopas may be traced at once in all parts of the Greek world, from Syracuse in the West to Lycia in the East. It is worthy of notice that on this statue also were found traces of colour. Lips and hair still retained a tinge of red, and on the foot there were remains of colour and of gilding; indeed, a sandal of gilt bronze had been attached to it.

Close to the Heraeum was the Prytaneum, the official house of the magistrates who had charge of the entire Altis. In it was an altar whereon the flame never died out, night or day. The burnt-out ashes were periodically removed and heaped on the great altar of Zeus which we have already mentioned. In the Prytaneum continual libations were made to a great variety of deities, and mystic songs were sung, of which Pausanias does not venture to give us the words. It was a sort of meeting-ground of all the deities who were held in honour by the people of Elis. In the Prytaneum also took place the feast given at the end of every festival to the various

victors by the people of Elis, a feast the materials of which were probably supplied from the flesh of the hecatomb of oxen which were slaughtered in sacrifice to Zeus. Thus the successful athletes became in a special degree the guests of the great deity of Olympia, and received honour from him in return for their labours in his service.

The Heraeum was in the north-west corner of the Altis. As the stranger passed thence eastward along the northern border of the sacred enclosure, he would light on the only remaining temple which had a place in it, the Metroüm, or shrine of the Mother of the Gods. The reason which induced the people of Elis to erect this temple in the very precincts of Zeus must remain unknown. The German explorations have ascertained the fact that it was not erected at an early period, indeed not before the time of Alexander, when many Eastern cults first found a home on Greek soil. But on whatever occasion the worship of Cybele was introduced at Olympia, it did not long continue, for in the time of Pausanias the building was without any statue of her, but full of those of Roman emperors. Beyond the Metroüm was a long line of statues of Zeus, the pedestals of which still exist. These were erected out of the fines incurred by those competitors in the Olympic games who had acted unfairly or violated the solemn regulations of the contest. Pausanias gives a list of the fines inflicted. We are astonished alike at the smallness of their number and the greatness of their amount, two circumstances which alike testify to the honour in which the games were held and the sportsmanlike spirit of the Greeks.

Opposite to the *Zanes*, as the statues of Zeus were called, and the Metroüm, were the treasuries of various States, wherein were stored the offerings which they or their citizens bestowed from time to time upon the god of

Olympia. The contents of these treasuries are of course gone, but the line of foundations remains. They were built in the form of small Greek temples *in antis* with pronaos and cella, and in some instances adorned with sculpture. Thus Pausanias tells us that the pediment of the treasury of the Megarians, which stood at the eastern end of the Street of Treasuries, was adorned with a representation of the Battle of the Gods and Giants. And in fact, in taking down a rude wall erected in the Altis in Byzantine times for purposes of defence against the barbarians, several blocks of *poros* stone were discovered which are proved by many indications to belong to the treasury of the Megarians, and which certainly do offer us figures from such a contest. We may distinguish Zeus and Athena, Poseidon and Ares, with some of their opponents, and a monster of the sea who comes to the aid of Poseidon. Another treasury of peculiar interest, which has been protected from complete destruction by a fortunate landslip, is that erected by Gelo and his Syracusans in memory of the ever-memorable defeat which they inflicted on the Carthaginians on the very day, as is said, on which the battle of Salamis was fought in Greece.

Three temples, a Prytaneum, and the Treasuries: such, together with numberless figures of deities and altars for sacrifice, and statues of victors and warlike trophies, were the contents of the sacred Altis in the period of Greek independence. Before passing outside the four walls which on all sides secured and shut it in from the outer world, we may for a moment glance at the changes which came over it at a later period. Indeed, in after time the fortunes and the calamities of Greece alike left their marks in the sacred enclosure. After the melancholy battle of Chaeroneia, Philip of Macedon erected in it a round temple, of which the foundations still remain. In

this temple were statues in gold and ivory, materials usually reserved for the gods, of Philip and his son Alexander, as well as of Amyntas, father of Philip, and of Olympias and Eurydice. Philip was very powerful at Elis, and in his day kings and generals were fast taking the place of the Greek deities, and appropriating the honours due to them. So of Demetrius and of Pyrrhus and of Ptolemy, the inheritors of the empire of Alexander, there were conspicuous statues near the Temple of Zeus.

The sack of Corinth by Mummius, which concludes the chapter in Greek history opened at Chaeroneia, also left its traces at Olympia. It would seem that Mummius was not quite satisfied at heart with his work; at any rate his offerings at Olympia were on a most profuse scale. The Temple of Zeus was hung by him with twenty-one gilded shields, and two large statues of Zeus in bronze were set up by him—being the first offerings, as Pausanias says, ever dedicated by a Roman. And when in the time of Hadrian and the Antonines material prosperity returned to Greece, a notable sign of it was erected in the Altis by Herodes Atticus, wealthiest and most beneficent of the later Greeks. This was a great reservoir of pure water, built in the Street of Treasuries, and flanked by two small temples, containing statues respectively of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina. There had always been a difficulty at Olympia in procuring pure water, and that difficulty was finally overcome only when Greece was in its dotage, and past real enjoyment from any outward change.

Then came the ravages of the Christians, who used the materials of the buildings of the Altis for their churches, and to form walls of defence against roaming bands of Goths and Slavs; and then the havoc of the earthquakes which levelled the proud temples with the ground: and

then a degraded race who built their wretched cells all about the enclosure of any material that came to hand; and then Turkish times, when lime-kilns were established on the sites of all the great Greek temples. When we think of such a series of ages of misery and fighting and ignorance, we are almost ready to be surprised, not that so little of Olympia remains to us, but that so much has escaped the grasp of successive swarms of plunderers and successive generations of barbarians seeking by every means to eke out a wretched existence.

Around the Altis as a centre were grouped the other buildings used by the people of Elis and the Hellanodicae for purposes connected with the festival. To the north-west of it, between the Heraeum and the Cladeus, may still be seen the remains of a great palaestra. This is an elaborate edifice some 200 feet square, divided into a number of rooms and corridors. Vitruvius has left us a detailed description of the gymnasium of the Greeks, showing how the various rooms were grouped about the hall specially belonging to the Ephebi; how one was devoted to the games of ball, in another was the corycus, a leathern sack hung up for pugilists to try their fists on; how one apartment was devoted to the oiling of the athletes, another to the cold bath, and another to the hot bath. In other parts of the gymnasium were galleries with sanded floors for the wrestlers, and raised platforms round their sides, where trainers and friends could stand out of fear of the contact of the oily bodies of the athletes; and besides, shady walks for the studious, and exedrae where the philosophers could hold forth among their disciples. The plan of the Palaestra of Elis corresponds to the words of Vitruvius. But Olympia was no place for philosophers. It was in the various gymnasia that the final preparations for the momentous struggles of the festival took place, and the feverish air which hung

over the place, and infected alike competitors and spectators, must have greatly indisposed them for unimpassioned dialogue and ethical niceties.

Still on the east of the Altis, but farther south than the Palaestra, lie the remains of a most interesting Byzantine church. The early date and excellent preservation of this building make it of great value to the enquirers who concern themselves with Christian antiquities. But it is no less interesting to classical archaeologists. The chapel is erected on the solid foundations of an earlier building. This earlier building lay exactly to the west of the Temple of Zeus; its size and aspect are almost precisely those of the cella of the temple, and there was a very large door opening in the direction of the Altis. It is conjectured by the German excavators that this building was the celebrated workshop of Pheidias, wherein the great chryselephantine statue of Zeus was put together in a space and a light almost exactly corresponding to those which awaited it in the cella of the Olympieium. The piety of the people of Elis spared this workshop, and it was still shown in the days of Pausanias as one of the most venerated buildings of the district.

On the south of the Altis lay the Buleuterium, or Senate-house of Olympia. This is in shape a very remarkable building, and was erected piece by piece. From the sixth century B.C. dates one long narrow hall with apse. To this a second erection, of similar shape, was added in a few years. Then a smaller square building was set up between the two; and finally, in Roman times, all three buildings were united together by a porch with colonnades. Greek architecture did not easily lend itself to enlargements. When a building had become too small for the purposes to which it was appropriated, it was necessary either entirely to pull it down and rebuild, or

to add a new building without. The strict architectural rules of the Greeks prevented them from altering the proportions of temples and halls. In the Senate-house sat the Olympian Senate, the body which was the final court of appeal in all matters relating to the festival—who inflicted fines on competitors, and to whom an appeal lay from the Hellanodicae. Within this building, too, was the altar of Zeus, at which all competitors took a solemn oath to abide by the conditions of the contest, and to take no unfair advantage. After the oath their names were placed on the list, and read out to the assembled multitude. Here, too, was the treasury, whence the expenses of the feast and the sacrifices were defrayed.

Along the whole eastern side of the Altis ran long pillared galleries, which furnished a retreat in inclement weather to the Olympian throng, and possibly afforded them shelter at night. At least we know that the Leonidaeum, which was in a line with these halls, was used as an inn by distinguished Roman visitors in the time of Pausanias. At the north-eastern corner of the Altis there was a covered way into the Stadium, which ran eastward from that point. It had been expected that the end or head of the Stadium would be placed in a recess of the hill of Cronus, such being the usual arrangement of the stadia of Greece. But such has not turned out to be the case here. The Olympian Stadium runs, not into the Cronion, but along at its base. And, in fact, in this way the hill would offer a better vantage-ground for spectators. It rises so steeply that the crowd could stand, row above row, to the very top of the hill, and obtain a clear view of the course from the starting-point to the goal; though, of course, a less near view than could be had from the sides of the Stadium itself. These sides are specially made sloping for the con-

venience of spectators, so that as many as possible might see well. As they uncovered the marble slabs which marked the starting-place and the goal so eagerly looked forward to by the runners, the explorers must have felt such a pleasure as rarely falls to the lot of archaeologists.

The last year of researches was as fruitful in results as any. On the west side more especially, between the Altis and the Cladeus, discoveries thickened. The Palaestra, of which mention has already been made, was cleared of earth, and the ground-plan laid bare, and another and larger gymnasium found farther to the south; and, farther to the north, a whole series of buildings and spaces appropriated to special sports, stadia for runners, and spaces for the practice of spear-throwers, and for the use of the discus. The Heroüm of the Seer Iamus was brought to light, and the altar used by his descendants in their professional divination; also the foundations of numerous buildings used as residences by trainers and by athletes.

When the celebrated eleventh day of the sacred month arrived, nothing was thought of but the athletic contest. Before the sun arose, every point of Cronion whence a good view could be obtained, every part of the Stadium, was thronged. Only the Hippodrome was deserted, for the contests of horses did not take place on the first day And the throng still stood in the deep dust, as the day grew hotter and hotter; no one dared to leave his place for a moment, or it would be lost. Such light refreshment of food and drink as would support an abstemious Greek, each carried with him. No hats were allowed; every man must appear bareheaded in the presence of Zeus. Only when the sun went down, and there was no more light thereby to continue the contests, the people trooped away to their tents, and to snatch a hurried

sleep before they thought of securing places for the next day. But neither heat nor dust, hunger nor thirst, could quench the general enthusiasm. At every skilful blow of a boxer, at every cunning throw of a wrestler, a tempest of cheers rent the air. And woe to the wretch who ventured on an unfair stroke, or who succumbed without a gallant struggle. He had to endure infinite cries of scorn until he escaped by flight from the hooting crowd. Fathers and teachers were near to encourage by their voices their sons and pupils who were engaged in the contests. We hear of one case in which a mother was present in male disguise to witness the victory of her sons. She was detected; but the Hellanodicae, recognizing the irresistible force which urged a member of so athletic a stock into the neighbourhood of contests which touched her so nearly, left her unpunished. The water at Olympia was scarce and bad; the assembled people must have suffered terribly from thirst; but against another of the plagues of Greece, flies, they were protected, it is said, by a special interposition of Zeus, who, in reply to a prayer of Hercules, drove the flies across the river. We cannot wonder that, as the festival recurred, sacrifices were continually offered to Zeus, the Averter of flies.

In the times preceding the Persian wars, the whole of the Olympic contest had been crowded into one day. But at the seventy-seventh celebration, night fell before the contests were completed, and it was resolved to extend the time. After that, five days were occupied; already Pindar, in one of his later odes, speaks of a five days' contest. Unfortunately, we cannot accurately trace the order in which the various competitions succeeded one another. The running probably came first, then the pentathlum, the decision of which occupied a considerable time. Then followed the horse-races and chariot-races, and the boxing and wrestling came last of all.

Such, at least, seems to be the order indicated by Xenophon, who says that when the confederated Arcadians attacked Olympia in the midst of the 104th celebration of the festival, they arrived after the horse-races were over, and the running which formed part of the pentathlum, but before the wrestling. Pausanias says that in his time the running and the pentathlum preceded the contests in which horses took part. In our brief description of the games we will follow this same order; we will begin with the running and the kindred contests, then speak of the horse-races, and last of the wrestling and boxing.

The foot-races all took place in the Stadium. They were in number four. There was the single course, wherein the competitors ran one length of the stadium or about two hundred yards; the double course, in which they ran once up and once down the stadium; the long race; and the armed race, in which each competitor had to carry on his left arm a shield. In each of these races, if the number of entries was considerable, there were various heats, and the winners of the heats contended again in the final and decisive race. We know from vases the attitudes of the runners. Those who were running a long distance clenched their fists and held their arms close to their sides like our runners. But those who were contending in the short and in the armed race swung their arms with violence backwards and forwards at each stride, or rather each spring, propelling themselves with their arms almost as much as with their legs. How this can have answered we scarcely know; yet if the custom had not led to success it would surely have been discontinued.

Next to the running came the pentathlum, which was, of all the contests, the most complicated. It comprised no less than five distinct competitions, and it would seem

that in order to secure victory, it was necessary to win in three out of the five. First came leaping. The leaper held weights like our dumb-bells, called *halteres*, in his hands. He probably leaped standing. The leap was measured in length, not height; but as to the distance which a Greek athlete could cover we are in perplexity, being, as we said, unable to receive the statements of certain writers that fifty feet was sometimes covered. Next came the hurling of discus and spear. The discus, if we may judge from a specimen at present in the British Museum, weighed about twelve pounds. It was round and flat, and a skilful athlete, by putting all his weight into the throw, would sometimes hurl it more than a hundred feet. The spear was thrown either with the hand or by means of a strap attached to it, as it still is in many countries. These three competitions—leaping, throwing the spear, and hurling the discus—were the chief and essential parts of the pentathlic contest. They did not recur at any other stage of the festival, and it is probable that any athlete who vanquished his competitors in all three exercises was adjudged winner of the prize. But when, as more usually happened, the first place in these three exercises was secured by different men, then the final award was determined by the result of a farther competition in running and wrestling, although both running and wrestling had separate crowns reserved for them at other stages of the festival. Thus it was necessary that the athlete who entered for the pentathlum should be skilled in many forms of exercise; and those who were distinguished in it were the most beautiful and accomplished men of Greece.

The horse-races at Olympia were very numerous. First in honour and importance was the race of four-horse chariots, wherein the kings and despots and the wealthiest of Greek nobles thought it an honour to be

successful. Certain cities, such as Syracuse and Agrigentum, were so proud of the victories of their citizens at Olympia that they adopted the victorious quadriga as the normal type of their coins. The family which secured a victory in the chariot-race at once acquired a certain standing, and was looked up to even in the most democratic cities. Yet this victory must have rested in a great degree with fortune. For, as all the chariots had to turn round a pillar at the end of the course, collisions between them were excessively common. The best chariots might easily thus be wrecked and the worst survive. Thus, when Dionysius the Elder, Despot of Syracuse, contended at Olympia in the chariot-race, all the other competitors agreed to crush his quadriga, in order that the prize might not fall to one who had inflicted so much injury on Greeks, and ruined so many cities.

Besides the race of four-horse chariots there was a race of pair-horse chariots, of mule-chariots, of quadrigas of colts, and other chariots. Horses were also run out of harness. Philip of Macedon won in the single-horse race, and was so elated that he placed on his coinage the victorious horse, with a jockey on his back, and a wreath on his neck. This was in the same year in which his son Alexander was born and Potidaea fell into his hands, and he classed all three events together as splendid gifts of fortune. But of course at Olympia he won no stakes, only an olive-wreath, and the name of having been victorious in the sacred contest.

To the equestrian contests succeeded wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. The wrestling of the Greeks was as full of tricks and feints as that of modern times. As the Greeks wrestled quite naked, and rubbed themselves with oil before entering the lists, it must have been no easy matter to get a hold, and the ancients naturally thought a

good grasp the better part of the battle. We learn that victory was bought with three throws; but it remains uncertain as to how throws were counted, and whether when the combatants had fallen they continued the struggle on the ground. The Greek boxers wound about their hands a strip of raw ox-hide, which seems to have been intended partly to protect the hand, and partly to moderate the force of blows, like our boxing-gloves. Certainly at its introduction it was not meant to inflict a cruel wound; the nail-studded cestus was unknown to the Greeks in early times. Peculiar to the Greeks was the pancratium, a mixture of boxing and wrestling—a cruel combat, continued whether standing or on the ground, until one of the contending athletes acknowledged himself defeated.

In these three competitions the competitors had, of course, to be drawn in pairs, and the Hellanodicae managed this in a very business-like manner. They put into an urn two tesserae marked A, two marked B, and so forth, the number of tesserae corresponding to that of the competitors. The athletes then drew each a tessera at random, and the two who drew an A had to contend together, likewise the two who drew a B, and so on. If there was an uneven number of competitors one would have a letter to himself, and so draw a bye. He was called the Ephedrus. Of course the victors in the first round drew again for opponents in the second round, thus proceeding until only two were left in.

When the toils and agonies of the Olympic contest were over, there followed the rewards of the victors. From the sacred olive-tree several branches, as many indeed as there were contests, were cut with a golden knife by a boy specially selected, both of whose parents must still be alive. Of each of these branches a wreath was made, and these wreaths were placed upon a brazen tripod in full

view of the people. On the fifth day of the contest, the fifteenth of the sacred month, a solemn assembly was held, and the victors came up in order to receive their prizes. They wound woollen fillets round their heads, and over the fillets one of the Hellanodicae placed the wreath, while another probably handed a palm. At the same moment a herald announced in loud tones the name and city of the athlete who was being crowned, together with the contest in which he had been victorious. On every announcement followed a burst of acclamation, and not the victor alone, but all his friends and relations felt a thrill of pride and delight, which extended even to all the spectators who could boast of being born in the same city.

Then followed a round of feasting and sacrifices. All the gods, whose protection the athletes had implored before the contest, were rewarded with sacrifices by those who attributed the victory to their favour and assistance. Again the magistrates of Elis were lavish with offerings at the altars of the Altis. To Zeus himself a whole hecatomb of oxen was brought; the victims were slaughtered, and with their flesh a great feast was made, a feast to which the people of Elis invited all the victorious athletes. Meantime, if these were wealthy, they would be, like Alcibiades, keeping open house for all their friends; if they were not, they had but to choose whom among their friends and townsfolk they would honour by accepting invitations to their tables. The poets were called in to write odes in honour of the victors and of all their ancestors. Sculptors were called in to execute portraits of them in bronze and marble, to be placed in the Altis for the study of all future generations. As they moved about, distinguished by the fillets they wore and their palms, they were ever the centres of admiring crowds, and followed by the eyes of all.

What became of the vanquished? Of them we hear but little. But it is to be feared that the Greeks did not treat athletes who had manfully striven and failed of success with that respect which they merited. We may fear that they often incurred undeserved hissing and ridicule: certainly they retired from the scene of contest, or hid themselves in the throng, and tried to escape notice. Respect for a vanquished competitor could never be counted among Greek virtues.

Soon Olympia began to empty. In groups and parties as they had come, the spectators dispersed. Only those who knew any of the victors formed a throng about him, in order to lead him home in solemn procession. Travelling, they beguiled their way with song and merry-making. And as they approached their native city they began to prepare for a splendid reception. In the city the success of the athlete had been already announced, and his approach was expected. It was a white day; no work was done, but all the population crowded out to welcome him who had brought home such honour. According to ancient usage, a part of the city-wall was thrown down in order that the hero might pass by a way not made vulgar by other footsteps. And so he entered to the notes of a triumphal song, written by a Pindar or Simonides and sung by the noblest-born of the city, passing over a path strewn with flowers towards the house of his father. Nor did the honours even then cease; ever after the hero was a man to be followed and respected. The proudest and wealthiest houses sought an alliance with him in marriage, his voice was listened to with respect in council, and in war the place of greatest honour and danger was specially reserved for him.

Such was the Olympian festival at its best, in the age between the Persian invasion of Greece and the Greek invasion of Persia, But it was not long before evil days

came. The degradation of Greek athletic sports may be traced to several causes. The less pleasing of them—boxing and the pancratium—came more into favour and use, and at the same time changed their character. Boxing had, indeed, from early times been practised at Olympia, but was not at first savage in character. The early cestus was very unlike the cruel instrument made of iron and leather which suited the brutal tastes of the Romans, and which was even introduced in late times at Pytho and Olympia. The pancratium, in which two athletes were set together to fight with fists and feet, and in wrestling until one confessed himself vanquished, must always have been a sport unfitted for gentlemen. At Sparta it was proscribed, it being contrary to the genius of the people that any one of them should allow that he was vanquished, even in sport. Yet for a time the victors in boxing and the pancratium are frequently men of the noblest and wealthiest Greek families, such as the Diagoridae of Rhodes, and the wealthy Dorians of Aegina. It was only by degrees that the professional element among the competitors came in, and the gentlemanly spirit went out. The first Alexander of Macedon was proud to enter among the runners at Olympia; the third Alexander was indignant when such a course was suggested to him.

We cannot trace the change in detail, but only discern a landmark here and there. It was Dromeus of Stymphalus who, in the fifth century, substituted a meat diet for the previous regimen of cheese and figs, and ever after his time athletes who intended to be successful had to devour great quantities of flesh, a diet unnatural in the climate of Greece, and apt to produce sleepiness and slowness of wit. But it was Herodicus of Selymbria, a contemporary of Socrates, who ruined athletics, by introducing elaborate rules for eating and drinking and exercise. In fact, he

first made training into a system, and discovered the fatal truth that, by scientific tending, the human body can be made, not healthy and beautiful, but muscular, and adapted to this or that special exercise. He, no doubt, improved the speed of the races and the skill of the wrestlings, but he spoiled athletics as a means of education for life and happiness. After his time, victory at Olympia became a thing which had to be worked for by special methods, instead of being the crown of a career good in itself. The competitors ceased to be drawn from the better classes: probably many of them trained for the games in order that they might make a living afterwards as professional trainers, or in order that they might secure the more substantial prizes allotted to victors in the Hellenistic cities of Asia. Instead of being an element in the life of all, athletic sports became the whole of the life of a special class.

We know that this lamentable change did not take place all at once. Sparta in particular, true to her high traditions, opposed all speciality in the matter of athletics. In that city new tricks in athletic contests, and new methods of training, were not allowed; we even hear of youths who were chastised by the Ephori for attempting finesse in ball-play. But in all countries that which secures success must succeed; and there can be little doubt that the Olympian victory went more and more to the professional. At the same time a complete change comes over the sentiments of poets, philosophers, and the leaders of Greek thought in relation to the games.

By an old custom of Athens an Olympian victor had a right to live at the public expense in the Prytaneum; by an old Spartan law he had a right in battle to stand next the king. In the time of Pindar a victorious athlete was placed almost among the demi-gods, and Dionysius the

Elder offered the athlete Antipater a large sum if he would allow Syracuse to receive the credit of giving him birth. But in the time of Plato, thinking men were beginning to find the reverse of the medal. Xenophon makes Socrates complain that excess in some one sport spoils the symmetry of the body, runners acquiring thick legs and feeble shoulders, and boxers large shoulders and weak legs. Socrates' disciple, Euripides, makes one of his characters declare athletes to be one of the greatest pests of Greece, and ask what throwing the discus and wrestling have to do with leading to wisdom and virtue. Perhaps in the strictures of this poet we may see too much of the sophist, who is inclined to value the intellectual faculties of his countrymen only, and to despise mere physical prowess. But some of the most distinguished warriors of later Greece echo his sentiments as regards the value of athletes. Epaminondas declared that fleshy boxers and pancratiasts were of no use as soldiers, and dismissed them from his army. Alexander the Great cared not for athletic sports. When Philopoemen was urged to cultivate his natural gift of wrestling, he refused, saying that if he studied to become a better wrestler, he should become a worse soldier. Special diet and special training made athletes into a special class, and late writers do not tire of ridiculing them—their vast muscle and small wit, their extreme appetite for food and sluggishness in war, their sleepiness and stupidity. The great physician Galen sets his face against athletic training, though he of course thinks highly of bodily exercises. He declares the state of health of professional athletes to be most deceptive and precarious, and their strength to be of no use for any sound and practical purpose.

We may, then, easily account for the contempt in which the Romans held the Greek sports. They knew them only after they had passed their best. They con-

sidered that athletic sports unfitted for war; that they made men lazy, always hanging about the gymnasia, and quarrelling for want of something better to do. What specially disgusted the Romans was the Greek custom of entire nudity when at exercise. This custom suited neither the better nor the worse side of the Roman character. It offended the Roman sense of dignity and respectability; and at the same time it did not suit the hard and brutal fibre of the nation. Certain ugly vices attended the practice at gymnasia even in Greece. Among the coarser Romans these same vices would, had they adopted Greek manners, have been conspicuously in the foreground, and that in their worst and most vulgar form. The Greek who was luxurious was so at least with something of refinement and grace; but the Roman who quitted his native hardness and sank into luxury was a mere swine, a repulsive spectacle to all who were not entirely corrupted.

From the time of Roman predominance to our own military exercises have superseded those which have reference merely to health and beauty. In most of the countries of the Continent it is still from military drill that the youth of the nation receives its physical training. Among ourselves there has been a great revival in the practice of athletic sports, which now occupy in our schools and Universities a place which is, in the opinion of many teachers, too large and too honourable. Whether they will retain that place or not will probably depend on their capacity to acknowledge a limit. It was excessive training and extreme specialization which brought ruin on the athletic sports of Greece, which fell into disrepute so soon as they ceased to be a means and usurped the place of an end. As soon as it came about that a boxer must devote his life to boxing, and a wrestler to wrestling, and make himself fit for that at

the expense of becoming unfit for everything else, then all men of sense and dignity began to despise both boxing and wrestling. We need not surely apply the lesson to English sports, or point out to our own youth the danger and discredit which threaten their favourite pursuits, unless they take to heart the teaching of history, and pursue the middle course in which lies safety.

CHAPTER X.

THE RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ATHENIAN TOMBS.

AT Athens the grave-stones of the ancient inhabitants are not only among the most interesting, but among the most extensive remains. Near Piraeus, through all the Ceramicus, and in many other parts of the city, excavations have constantly brought to light a vast quantity of inscribed and sculptured slabs and columns, which have mostly, unlike antiquities of many other classes, remained at Athens, and now fill one wing of the new museum and the whole space in front. But there is a group of grave-stones of equal interest which are left standing, just where they were disinterred, by the old road which led through the gate Dipylon from Athens to Eleusis, the road annually trodden by the procession at the Eleusinia. These tombs, in size and beauty superior to the rest, are preserved for us, as is supposed, by a fortunate chance.* Sulla, when he attacked Athens and remorselessly massacred the miserable inhabitants, made his approach close to the gate Dipylon. There he erected the long *aggeres* by which his engines were brought close to the wall, and there his soldiers threw down several hundred yards of the city ramparts, which were formed of sun-baked bricks. Hence a vast mass of ruin which completely overwhelmed and buried the lines of tombs immediately without the gate, and pre-

* See F. Lenormant's *Voie Eleusinienne*, vol. I.

served them almost uninjured until one day when they were once more brought to the light by a French archaeological expedition in the year 1863. The suddenness with which these monuments were overwhelmed is indicated by the fact that some of them were and remain unfinished; the completeness of their disappearance is proved by the silence of Pausanias the traveller, who, passing through all quarters of Athens in the time of the Antonines, would appear to have seen no trace of them. All of the monuments in this group are of course indubitably Athenian, and furnish the best materials for the present paper. Of the stones in the museum it is sometimes impossible to trace the finding spot; some are Boeotian, some from Peloponnesus, some from the Islands. But the great majority are of Athenian origin. Of the longer inscriptions a large proportion are from the tombs of foreign residents at Athens.

I propose to consider in the case of these grave-stones two points, firstly, the reliefs which they bear;* secondly, the inscriptions engraven on them.

Amongst the earliest of Athenian sepulchral monuments is the often-cited stêlê of Aristion. It represents the deceased on a scale somewhat larger than life, as standing clad in full armour, spear in hand. The ground of the relief is red; traces of colour may be seen, or rather might at the time of discovery be seen, on many parts of the body, and holes may be observed made by the nails which fastened armour of bronze on to the body. The design or idea of this slab differs not much

* On the subject of these reliefs there is no complete work, but several monographs, the best of which are those of Friedlaender and Pervanoglu, and a chapter by Furtwaengler in his *Collection Sabouroff*. Recently has appeared the earlier part of the *Corpus of Attic Sepulchral Reliefs*, edited for the German Institute by Dr. Conze.

from that of a portrait statue. Clearly in early Greek times, for this statue is given to the very beginning of the fifth century B.C., the survivors wished to see in the monument the dead, as it were, still living among them, still to be seen in his daily dress, and about his daily business.

But it is from the later fifth, and the fourth centuries before the Christian era, that we inherit the great mass of the sculptured tomb-stones which crowd the museums. No one can spend a few hours among these without perceiving that the representations fall naturally into four or five classes.

The first and the most extensive class consists of formal groups wanting in distinctive character, which display the dead either alone or in company with others. The companions, where there are such, are sometimes other members of the family, sometimes slaves or attendants, who, in accordance with the well-known canon of Greek art, which gives larger stature to the person of more importance, are always represented as of diminutive size. Sometimes the companion is not a person at all, but a favourite animal, a pet dog or bird. Such subjects are common in Macedonian times. The grouping is usually simple and graceful, the attitudes natural and unforced, the movements, if movement there be, measured. But the execution is not of the best, save in a few remarkable cases, and there is a want of invention, nay, there is even vulgarity, in the designs. Pausanias mentions sepulchral reliefs by the great artists, and a few of those which have reached us are of very fine execution: but this is quite the exception. Like our modern photographers, the inferior Greek artists who usually did this kind of work had a few cardinal notions as to possibilities of arrangement, and could not easily be induced to depart from them. I will give

the details of a few reliefs of this class. (1) A seated lady, who with her left hand holds the end of the veil which covers her face; before her stands a man, facing her. (2) A pair of sisters, Demetria and Pamphila. Pamphila is seated, and turns her head towards the spectator; with her right hand she grasps the end of her veil. Demetria stands over against her, her right hand folded across her breast, and grasps her veil with her left hand. (3) A man clad in long *himation* stands, in his hand a scroll. In front of him stands a small male figure, naked, holding a vessel, perhaps an oil-flask. The scroll which the master holds and the flask of the slave seem here to have as little meaning as the books and the flower-baskets of photographic rooms. (4) A mother clad in flowing Ionian drapery is seated to left. Her left hand rests on the seat; with her right she lifts something from a little toilette-box which a servant holds out. Round her knees clings a little girl. (5) A lad stands clasping to his breast a bird which a snake at his feet threatens and springs upward to reach. In other reliefs we find a dog in the place of the snake; sometimes a dog is standing elsewhere in the picture. Tame birds would seem to have been the usual playmates of Athenian children, and tame dogs the constant companions of young men, while in many houses a favourite which would be rarely appreciated in England, a snake, was nurtured.

As this is the commonest class of reliefs, so it is the least original. But it is by no means rare to find on sepulchral slabs a more exact reference to the past life or the habits of the dead. Sometimes we are told more than the bare fact that the departed was father, mother, wife, or sister—was young, old, or in the prime of life. I select the following:—(1) A youth, naked, or wearing the light chlamys only, stands holding in his hand the strigil and

oil-flask, those invariable accompaniments of gymnastic exercises among the Greeks. No doubt the survivors, who chose the design, wished to indicate that their friend was prominent in manly sports and labours. In this, the field of his best energies, they wished him still to seem to live. (2) A young man, clad in a chlamys, charges with spear advanced a wild boar, which is coming out of its lair; at his side is a dog, which leaps forward at the quarry. Above, on a rock, stands a deer. We see at a glance that this is the tomb of one who loved the chase. (3) On a rock sits a man in an attitude of grief; beneath is the sea, and on it a boat with or without sailors. It is a generally received opinion that monuments of this character were set up over those who had been wrecked at sea. (4) A young rider, clad in the light chlamys of the Athenian cavalry, charges, at once trampling beneath his horse's hoofs and transfixing with his spear a fallen foe, who tries in vain with his shield to ward off the attack of his triumphant enemy. From the accompanying inscription we know that this monument was erected in honour of Dexilaus, one of the five horsemen at Corinth —that is to say, as is supposed, one of the five horsemen who did some notable deeds of valour in the battle under the walls of Corinth, in which the Athenians were engaged in the year B.C. 394. The relief thus dates almost from the best time of Attic art, and it is worthy of its time. It does not, of course, represent the moment of the death of the young warrior; we see him strong and triumphant, such as his friends would fain have seen him always; to show him fallen would have suited an enemy rather than a friend. (5) Another relief, although set up in honour of a man of Ascalon, is clearly of Athenian handiwork and design. A sleeping man rests on a couch. Close to his head rises on its hind-paws a lion, who is clearly ready to slay or carry him off. On the

other side of the couch is a warrior who attacks and repels the beast. In the background appears the prow of a ship. From a Greek metrical inscription which accompanies this relief, it would appear that the Phoenician stranger here buried had incurred great peril at some previous period of his life from the attack of a lion, who seems to have surprised him resting on the shore, but who was driven off by the timely arrival of friends just landed from their ship.* (6) A man and his wife, both muffled in ample garments, advance towards the spectator. Between them advances a priestess of Isis, clad in the dress of her calling, holding in her right hand the sistrum, in her left the vessel of sacred water. It is possible, the inscriptions which accompany this representation being illegible, that the monument was erected to a father and mother, and to their daughter devoted to Isis. Or it is possible that we have here expressed in a symbolical form the devotion of a man and woman to that mysterious worship which spread in Ptolemaic times from the bank of the Nile over all lands, and their firm trust that in the next world Isis would recognize and protect her worshippers.

Such are a few specimens of the reliefs which give us more precise information with regard to the lives and habits of the dead. In the same way, those who had devoted themselves to a profession appear on their tombs with the badges of that profession; physicians, for instance, with the cupping-glass and other instruments of their daily use. And in this matter it is clear that the Athenians merely followed one of the most natural of all instincts leading to a custom common among all nations. Thus in the *Odyssey*, the ghost of the drowned oarsman, Elpenor, begs Ulysses, when he reaches the

* I should say that another explanation of this relief is given by Dr. Wolters in the *Athenien Mittheilungen* fol 1888, p. 310.

island of Aeaea, to raise a tomb to him, and to fix on it the oar he was wont to wield. And thus, even in our own day, what device is commoner on a soldier's grave than sword and cannon, or on a painter's than palette and brush?

But although the sculptors of tombs usually designed references to the past life of those they commemorated, such was not always the case. After all, past was past, and it were idle to deny that the moment of death brought a vast change over everything. The next class of reliefs have reference to the fact and the moment of death. Among the Romans that fact was symbolized in art frequently by sleep; and among all Christian nations it has become usual to speak of death in metaphorical language borrowed from the rest of night. But it was not usually merely as a deeper sleep that death presented itself to the imagination of Athenian sculptors. They considered death rather as a departure, a going far away from and losing sight of one's family and friends. Scenes of leave-taking are among the most frequent of all sepulchral reliefs. I am not, however, sure that this leave-taking is quite consciously adopted as the image of death. Indeed, all images of death were somewhat distasteful to the joyous sensuousness of Athenian taste. But when an artist had to represent the dead and the surviving friends of the dead in a group, this posture of farewell, which must have been one of the most usual and natural to think of, seems to have frequently suggested itself, and, in virtue of its inherent appropriateness to the occasion, to have become more and more common. This leave-taking presents itself in the least intrusive and gentlest form in those representations where a lady appears dressing herself with the assistance of her maids for an out-door journey, throwing over her head the ample veil, and perhaps hand-

ing to an attendant nurse the babe whom she cannot take out into the open air with her. Sometimes the preparations are more advanced; the lady sits or stands veiled and prepared for a journey, and gives her hand to husband or father who stands opposite. Sometimes two men grasp hands as if about to travel in different directions. Occasionally a horse appears in the background which is destined to carry away the master of the house. In this very introduction of the horse we see how much the notion of travel preponderates in those scenes over that of death. For the horse was not directly connected by the Greeks with death. The rider on the pale horse had yet to be introduced to the popular imagination by the writer of the Apocalypse, who must have borrowed from a non-Hellenic source. Dwelling closely hemmed in by the sea, they never thought of the dead as travelling to other worlds by land, but usually as going over the waves mysterious and vast to some distant island, or perhaps as penetrating into deep abysses of the land. But for journeys from town to town in Hellas, the horse was the appropriate conveyer. And the horse seems in many cases to signify the knightly rank of the dead.

The old opinion of archaeologists with regard to these scenes of farewell, an opinion grounded on insufficient induction, was that in them the dead were represented as seated, the survivors as standing and taking leave of them. It is now acknowledged that this is not the case. It is true that most commonly in the groups one is seated, while of the standing figures one grasps his or her hand. But a careful study of the accompanying inscriptions proves that it is sometimes the dead person who stands while the survivor sits; and again, in other cases both the dead and the living stand, while sometimes, again, of the several dead persons com-

memorated some stand and some are seated. The fact is that any pedantic rule of uniformity is put out of the question by the circumstances under which sepulchral reliefs were designed and executed. It was essential to the composition of a group, thought the artists, that some of the figures should stand and others sit; but the question which should do which was settled, not by a desire to convey a careful meaning to the eyes of beholders, but by the study of a little graceful variety, within somewhat narrow limits, and the influence of every-day custom which made it far more natural and usual that a woman should be seated when taking leave of a man, than a man when taking leave of a woman. Sometimes a little life breaks in on the formality of the group. Children cling about their mother's knee, or daughters stand by in an attitude betokening their grief; but those circumstances which might move emotion in the spectator are quite banished or kept sedulously in the background. Here, as ever, the Greek abode by that motto, "Nothing in extremes," which expresses the ultimate law of all his art.

In the later periods these scenes are common at Athens as in other parts of Greece. But the numerous and well-known reliefs which represent a feast or banquet certainly do not originate in Attica, nor do they belong to the circle of Athenian ideas: their origin is rather Peloponnesian, and we may best treat of them in the next chapter, in connection with the grave-reliefs of Sparta and Boeotia.

Into these representations of life a faint allusion to death, a slight flavour of mortality is often introduced. We sometimes see an urn set up in a corner, such an urn as received the ashes of the dead; or the tomb which bears the relief was made in the form of a water-pot, as was the case, as we are told by Demosthenes,

with those who died unmarried. Like the skeleton at an Egyptian feast, this urn would seem meant to show that in the gayest moment of life death hovers near, waiting to strike. If a babe in swaddling-clothes is represented in the scene, the meaning is that the mother died in giving birth to it. The same moral is conveyed in other cases, by the appearance at the side or in the foreground of a snake entwined round a tree; the snake being the companion of the dead, sometimes even the embodiment of the dead man's spirit or ghost. And in scenes where there is no allusion to death so concrete or conventional as the above, there is over all an aspect of grief and dissatisfaction. Children or slaves are weeping without apparent cause, or women stand with an arm folded across their breast, their head resting on a hand, in an attitude consecrated by the Greeks to sorrow, not as among us to mere reflection. There are a few instances to be found, even among works of the fifth century, in which the moment of dying is portrayed, with the grief of those standing by; but this is very exceptional, and even here considerable reserve is exercised.

All the scenes of which I have spoken have this in common, that they represent to us the deceased, with or without the living. But sometimes, though rarely, the Greeks substituted for these groups a merely symbolical figure of an animal or some fabulous creature. On a tomb at Athens, erected in memory of one Leon, stands a marble lion, evidently in punning allusion to his name. Over the tomb of the celebrated courtezan Laïs, in the suburbs of Corinth, was a group representing a lioness standing over a prostrate ram, a symbol the reference of which to the extraordinary career and splendid success of the woman is evidently appropriate. Stone snakes often guarded a tomb, in imitation of the living snakes sure soon to glide about it, on the same prin-

ciple on which, when the Athenians sought a floral decoration for a stêlê, they sometimes chose the acanthus, which is notable for freely growing among stones. But it was especially the forms of female monsters, sirens, sphinxes, and harpies, which were selected for the adornment of tombs. All these were spoken of in legend as fatal evils, carrying off to death young men and maidens. The sirens especially slew the young after attracting them by the sweetness of their singing, and so well became the graves of those who were lost in the mid ardour of their pursuit of the delights of youth. In modern Greek superstition their place is taken by the Anerâdes or Nereids who carry away the young, as of old they carried away young Hylas the friend of Heracles, as he fetched water from a well.

Battles of heroes and Amazons, Dionysiac revels, and mythological scenes, occurring on sarcophagi, belong to Hellenistic and Roman times, and represent phases of thought quite other than those suggested by the reliefs inspired by early Greek feeling. It is extremely seldom that any mythological subject is found on Greek tombs at all. Charon, with his boat, sometimes appears in the foreground. And in another very interesting representation, which however is not Athenian, Hermes appears as the conductor of souls, leading gently by the hand a young girl to the future world. So small is the part played by the gods in sepulchral scenes. Not a trace appears of scenes of future happiness or misery, no allusion to that future judgment of souls which is so prominently brought before us in Egyptian pictures. Only, in times when the Egyptian worship of Sarapis and Isis had penetrated to Athens, and served there to impart purer and higher views as to future punishment and reward, we do sometimes find the priestess of Isis going before the departed with all pomp of worship to

guide them through the perils of the last journey, and lead them to a safe resting-place. But these scenes only illustrate the triumph of the religious notions of the Egyptians over the susceptible Greeks, at a time when their national city life was extinct, and they were driven by the fewer attractions of the present life to think more about the possibilities of the next.

It seems to be desirable, in view of the unfounded assertions so frequently set forth on the subject of Greek art, to gather what light we can on that most interesting subject from the facts above summarized. In doing so, however, it is above all things necessary to bear in mind the conditions under which sepulchral monuments were designed and executed. And first, it is quite clear that where several persons who died at intervals are buried in one tomb, they cannot all have been adequately represented in the relief, which would naturally be the production of a single time. A citizen dies, and a relief is erected over his body, perhaps representing him as taking a farewell of his wife, while his infant son stands by. This same son, may be, dies in middle life and is buried with his father, and an epitaph is inserted on the monument stating the fact. It may thus happen that a man of thirty or forty may appear in the sepulchral relief as an infant. Such slight inconsistencies are inseparable from the nature of these monuments. But it must be confessed that sometimes between inscription and sculpture there are contradictions which cannot be thus easily explained, and which raise serious reflections. The fact is that the conviction is forced upon us by the comparison of a multitude of instances, that very often the relief placed on a tomb did not possess much reference to its contents. There can be no doubt that the more ordinary sorts of representations were made in numbers by the sculptors, and, as we should phrase it,

kept in stock by them for customers to choose from. And if the would-be buyer found a group of which the general outline and arrangement suited him, he would scarcely decline to purchase it because it was not entirely appropriate, because it made his wife look twenty years too young, or even turned the boys of his family into girls. Those who are let into this secret will not be surprised if they occasionally find a subject repeated exactly on two tombs without variation, nor if a sculptured group is little in harmony with the inscribed list of the dead.

Even in those cases in which a relief was executed by special order on the death of a person, a relief adapted in plan and intended in details to represent the deceased happy amid his family or pursuing his favourite avocation, we must not expect too much. Even here, the sculptor confines himself to a generalized or idealized representation. Probably he knew nought of the dead, and certainly he took no pains to exactly imitate the living. Hence the same conventional types, the bearded man, the veiled woman, the girl, the infant, repeat themselves almost without variety, through all the Macedonian period of Athenian graves. The men who appear on sepulchral reliefs of the same period are as much like one to another as the horsemen of the frieze of the Parthenon, or the fighting heroes of the Aegina pediments. In Roman times this is far less the case; but among the Greeks of the fourth and third centuries B.C., the artist was careful only of the type, and careless of the individual peculiarities.

Nevertheless it is quite an error to suppose that the Athenians were all cast in one mould. They differed one from another almost as much as an equal number of Englishmen taken at random. And of this proof is extant in their surviving portraits. There still exists at

Athens a remarkable series of portraits of those citizens who in succeeding years undertook the office of *cosmetes*. This series stretches over a long period, and though it is true that that period belongs to the decline, not the flourishing greatness of the city, and Athenian blood may then have been mixed with that of other races, yet the type cannot have disappeared. Taking these statues then as portraits of some of the most prominent Athenian citizens, and probably some of the purest-blooded, what do we find? One head is almost African in type, with thick lips and woolly hair; one face might be taken for that of an English judge; one for that of an Italian street-musician. We may safely affirm that an Athenian crowd of the period must have contained as many widely divergent types as an English or French one. So of the Greek princes who reigned during the third and second centuries before the Christian era over the *disjecta membra*, the fragments of the Empire of the Great Alexander, we possess quite a portrait gallery in their numerous and excellent coins. Here, too, we find the widest variety of type, many coins presenting to us heads which no one whose knowledge of Greek art was superficial would suppose to be Greek at all. But although individual Greeks differed thus widely one from another, and although, in the Alexandrine times of Greek art, artists quite understood the art of taking portraits, yet throughout the forms and features of those sculptured on tombs are quite conventionally rendered. And in nothing does one see more clearly than here the blending of Attic good taste with Attic superficiality and dislike of too deep or too persistent emotion. For a tombstone calling up in a general way past life and past happiness would be a constant source of emotion, gentle and melancholy, but not too intense in degree; while the sight of the very features

of dead father, mother, wife, or child would be too startling and cause far more pain than pleasure. We moderns are less afraid of pain, and, when we place on tombs any representation of the dead at all, make it as exact a likeness as we can. But most, even now, prefer a mere slab in the graveyard and a portrait in the family-room or the bedroom.

The sources of these generalized types of man, youth, woman, and child are of course to be found in the common feeling of the Hellenic nation working through the brains and hands of the ablest statuaries. As in the accepted type of Zeus, the Greek sculptures embodied all that seemed to them most venerable, wise, and majestic; as in the accepted type of Apollo they combined youthful beauty with supreme dignity; so in the accepted type of matron they strove to embody all the matronly virtues, in the young girl all childish grace and promise, in the bearded man the dignity and self-control of a worthy citizen, such as Aristides or Epaminondas. The type was fixed in the case of human beings, as in the case of some of the Hellenic deities, by the sculptors of the generation which succeeded those who had fought at Marathon and Plataea, and altered but little after that until the collapse of Hellenic independence and Hellenic art.

Goethe has expressed, in a passage which cannot be too often quoted, the ultimate truth about Greek sepulchral reliefs:—

"The wind which blows from the tombs of the ancients comes with gentle breath as over a mound of roses. The reliefs are touching and pathetic, and always represent life. There stand father and mother, their son between them, gazing at one another with unspeakable truth to nature. Here a pair clasp hands. Here a father seems to rest on his couch and wait to be entertained by his

family. To me the presence of these scenes was very touching. Their art is of a late period, yet are they simple, natural, and of universal interest. Here there is no knight in harness on his knees awaiting a joyful resurrection, The artist has with more or less skill presented to us only the persons themselves, and so made their existence lasting and perpetual. They fold not their hands, gaze not into heaven; they are on earth, what they were and what they are. They stand side by side, take interest in one another, love one another; and that is what is in the stone, even though somewhat unskilfully, yet most pleasingly depicted." *

It is a proof at once of the genius of Goethe and of his keen sympathy with all that is truly Greek, that at a time before Greek art was half understood, he was able to judge from the few inferior specimens known to him of the general character of these sepulchral reliefs. That on which he lays his master-hand is certainly their most essential character. Their whole aspect is turned, so to speak, from the future to the past, and from heaven to earth. We whose ancestors have been, for some twelve hundred years, taught constantly that death is but the entrance to wider life, that the world is a place of probation and preparation for eternity, can scarcely place ourselves in thought in the position of men who seem to have found the world charming and delightful, and to have been well satisfied with it, preferring to let their minds dwell on the enjoyments of the past rather than on a future which at best was a cold and gloomy echo of the present world. It is not that they disbelieved in the unseen world, or thought that the soul died with the body; such scepticism was perhaps rarer in antiquity than in modern times, and confined in antiquity as in modern times to a few of the highly educated. But

* *Italienische Reise, à-propos* of the museum at Verona.

that inevitable future occupied comparatively very little of their time and thought; it was a cold shadow to be kept out of sunny life as much as might be. And when it was thought of, it was thought of without very much either of hope or fear. Terrible punishments in it were reserved for terrible criminals, supreme pleasures for the supremely good, but for ordinary mortals an ordinary fate was reserved, a sort of ghost or echo of their mortal life, made up, like that, of pleasure and pain, but with both pleasure and pain diluted and made ghostly. From discontent with life and repining at the lot assigned by fate, the Greeks would seem to have been singularly free, and no nation ever thought life better worth living. I shall have more to say on this subject further on.

It remains to speak of the inscriptions which accompany or even take the place of the reliefs, and which have sometimes a considerable interest for us. It will be convenient to quote these inscriptions in English; those who wish to compare the original Greek can easily do so in the complete work of Kumanudes.*

If we turned to the Greek *Anthology*, we could no doubt find epitaphs of a far more elegant and finished character than those which appear on the graves themselves; but the compositions of the *Anthology* are merely epideictic, exercises of ingenuity without any such real interest as belongs to epitaphs really used.

There are in the British Museum two sepulchral inscriptions on public tombs of considerable interest. Of these one contains lists of all the citizens who fell in a single year at the various places where Athens was carrying on war. We learn from Thucydides and Pausanias that it was the Athenian custom thus annually to honour

* Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι. Athens, 1871. See also the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum;* and Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta:* 1878.

with a public monument all those who had in the previous year fallen in the battles of their country—a custom which must have nerved for death many a soldier's heart, as he reflected that he was sure, if he fell, of a sort of immortality before the eyes and in the memory of his countrymen. The other inscription,* which was written under a relief representing three warriors, commemorates those Athenians who fell before Potidaea, in the year B.C. 432. It runs thus :—

"Thus to the dead is deathless honour paid,
Who, fired with courage hot, in arms arrayed,
Felt each our fathers' valour in him glow,
And won long fame by victory o'er the foe.

"Heaven claimed their souls, in earth their limbs were laid,
Yet past the gates their conquering charge they made;
Of those they routed some in earth abide,
Some in strong walls their lives for safety hide.

"Erechtheus' city mourns her children's fall,
Who fought and died by Potidaea's wall,
True sons of Athens, for a virtuous name
They gave their lives, and swelled their country's fame."

The smallness of the number of public epitaphs at Athens is well compensated by the abundance of private ones, of which upwards of 4,000 have been already published, while every year brings a multitude of fresh ones to light. I will attempt to class these, as I did the reliefs. The commonest inscriptions by far are those which simply record, in the case of a man, his name, his

* *Corpus of British Museum Inscriptions*, i. p. 102. The reading of the first few lines is very doubtful. I follow Mr. Hicks.

father's name, and his *deme* or township; in the case of a woman, her name, that of her father, husband, or husband and father, with their respective demes. Of the numerous epitaphs which remain, perhaps nine out of ten are of this simple character. Sometimes they accompany reliefs of an elaborate character, or are placed on tombs of great size and pretensions. Than such an epitaph nothing could possibly offend less against good taste, and it was probably thought somewhat sentimental and *gushing* at Athens to indulge in a longer metrical sepulchral inscription. When longer inscriptions occur, they seldom bear much sign either of taste or education. Their grammar is often doubtful, and, when in metre, they halt terribly. They clearly belong to the same class of compositions as the lame verses which abound in English graveyards.

In the case of very early reliefs we find usually not only the name of the dead, but also of the artist who did the work. In later times this custom dropped, and we have scarcely in any case a clue to the name of the sculptor. This fact is the more curious inasmuch as in other remains of antiquity, such as gems and coins, to insert the artist's name becomes more usual as we approach the best time of art. Not many epitaphs of an earlier period than the year B.C. 400 are preserved, nor are these, except in the case of public tombs, of special importance. One is interesting to students of epigraphy as it bears an exact date, the year B.C. 430, when the plague, following in the wake of the Peloponnesian army, invaded Attica: "I am the tomb of Myrina, who died of the plague." Another, of an ordinary Attic type, has a grace and charm which is seldom absent from the earlier productions of Attica:—

"Let the reader pass on, be he citizen or stranger from afar, having pitied for a moment a brave man who fell

in battle and lost his young prime. Having shed a tear here, go by, and good go with you."

To the period between the falling of Athens into Lysander's hands and the times of the Roman Antonines belongs the vast body of the epitaphs. A more exact chronological classification is neither easy, it being especially hard to determine the period of those inscriptions which are not accompanied by reliefs, nor necessary. It is best to divide them into classes, not by a determination of date, but rather by a consideration of drift and content, and to consider all as belonging to one long period, a period when the Athenian Empire had indeed passed away, and external conquests were not to be hoped for; but when Athens still ruled in the realm of mind and attracted to herself the flower of the culture of Hellas and the world. I have already said that the commonest sort of inscriptions comprised only the name of the dead, his father's name, and that of his *deme*. But not unfrequently a few words of comment were added. The person who paid for the erection of the tomb liked to see some record of his liberality. Thus a stone marks the spot where "His sons buried Julius Zosimianus, the head of the School of Zeno," that is, the head of the Stoics of Athens. Another records that "Polystratus set up this portrait in memory of his brother." We frequently find the trade or calling of the deceased mentioned in his epitaph. One Heracleides is stated to have been the greatest master of the catapult, a warlike machine which seems to have required some skill in the handling. Many other trades are mentioned in connection with the dead. One was a bathing-man, another a mid-wife and physician, another a 'priestess of the all-producing Mother, probably Cybele, another second in rank in joyous comedy, another a bull-fighter. On one tomb the record ends quaintly, after mentioning

that the grave contained one or two named persons, with the phrase, "also the others who are represented in the relief," where the stonemason or his instructor seems to have grown tired of a bare list of names, and stopped short in the midst.

The longer inscriptions which are found on Attic gravestones, if we except only the class of minatory or deprecatory epitaphs, which I reserve to the last, are in metre. To this rule there are few, if any, exceptions, so that the ancient epitaph-writer could at least, unlike the modern, claim the *saeva necessitas* as a reason for attempting a metrical composition. I shall, however, render into English prose rather than verse the specimens of these selected for purposes of illustration, as it would convey quite a false impression if I were to disguise their oddities and crudities under the smooth mantle of English heroic verse.

The metrical epitaphs are of four kinds. Those of the first kind are in the form of a dialogue between the dead and the surviving friend, or in some cases of a mere direct address to the dead. The simplest form which such an address can take is the χρηστὲ χαῖρε—"Farewell, lost friend"—which is so usual on tombs of a certain period, but which does not, apparently, appear on any which belonged certainly to an Athenian. Of this simple and touching phrase we find a number of metrical amplifications:—

"Farewell, tomb of Melitê; the best of women lies here, who loved her loving husband, Onesimus; thou wast most excellent, wherefore he longs for thee after thy death, for thou wast the best of wives. Farewell, thou too, dearest husband, only love my children."

But an inscription of this kind is necessarily of a late period, and but little in accord with the canon of fashionable taste. More usual and less emotional is the following,

which details a conversation not with the dead, but with his tomb :—"Whose tomb are we to call thee? That of famous Nepos. And who of the children of Cecrops begat him? say. He was not of the land of Cecrops, but from Thrace." Another epitaph, after proceeding in verse, suddenly breaks into prose: "And if you seek my name, I am Theogeiton, son of Thymochus of Thebes." Of course it is quite natural that the tombstone should thus speak in the first person in the name and on behalf of the deceased. In some of our commonest English epitaphs such as "Affliction sore long time I bore," we find the same peculiarity; but that a grave-stone should give information in reply to cross-questioning is less usual.

The second kind of metrical inscriptions, which is by far the most numerous, speaks of the past life and history of the deceased. Thus over the grave of a soldier we find :—

"Of thy valour stands many a trophy in Greece and in the souls of men; such wast thou, Nicobulus, when thou leftest the bright light of the sun and passedst, beloved of thy friends, to the dwelling of Persephone."

Other triumphs besides warlike ones are elsewhere recorded; on the tomb of one Praxinus, *the doer*, we read the punning epitaph :—

"My name and my father's this stone proclaims, and my country; but by my worthy deeds I attained such a name as few may obtain."

We are not aware in this case to what special kind of deeds the inscription refers; often it is more explicit as in the following, erected over a young statuary :—

"I began to flourish as a statuary not inferior to Praxiteles, and came to twice eight years of age. My name was Eutychides,* but that name fate mocked, tearing me so early away to Hades."

* Child of good luck.

On the tomb of one Plutarchus, who seems to have been a merchant, we find a brief history of his life :—

"This is the tomb of the discreet Plutarchus, who, desiring fame which comes of many toils, came to Ausonia. There he endured toils on toils far from his country, although an only child and dear to his parents. Yet gained he not his desire, though longing much, for first the fate of unlovely death reached him."

Sometimes out of a whole life one event or circumstance of peculiar interest was taken, and commemorated as well by inscription as relief, as in the case of that Phoenician stranger already mentioned who narrowly escaped the jaws of a lion. The inscription on his tomb describes that escape, and explains the meaning of the representation it accompanies.

The virtues of the dead must always in all countries form the most frequent and suitable subject of sepulchral inscriptions. Athens is no exception to the rule. We find on the grave of a young man :—

"Here Euthycritus, having reached the goal of every virtue, lies entombed in his native soil, dear to father and mother, and loved by his sisters and all his companions, in the prime of his life."

A copper-smelter from Crete has the simple and pleasing epitaph :—

"This memorial to Sosinous, of his justice, his prudence, and his virtue, his sons erected on his death."

The following is from the tomb of one Sotius :—

"Here in earth lies Sotius, superior to all in the art he practised, virtuous of soul, and dear to his fellow-citizens ; for ever he studied to please all, and his heart was most just towards his friends."

Such are a few of the panegyrics bestowed on men after their death ; those bestowed on women are

fewer in number, but not less interesting. A young girl is commended for her serious and staid disposition :—

"She who lies here coveted not, while alive, garments or gold, but desired discretion and virtue. But now, Dionysia, in place of youth and bloom, the fates have awarded thee this sepulchre."

More than once we find epitaphs which speak of the virtue and kindness of nurses, evidently set up by young men who had never ceased to care for and respect them. The ancients evidently felt for the wet-nurse who cherished their infancy, slave as she might be, something of lasting and filial affection :—

"Here is laid in earth the best of nurses, whose foster-child still misses her. I loved thee, nurse, when alive, and still I honour thee though thou art laid in the ground, and shall honour as long as I live."

More characteristic of the Greek disposition than mere praise of the dead are those praises of the good fortune of the departed, which sound almost mocking to modern ears, and yet on a little reflection do not displease. Of one Symmachus, of Chios, we read on his tomb that through life his joys were many and his sorrows few, that he reached the extreme limit of old age, and lies in Athens, the city dear to gods and men. On the tombs of women it is often stated that they were in comfortable circumstances, and that they lived to see their children's children. All the happiness of past life seemed to the Greeks a gain, and even when it was over was to be regarded, not with bitter regret, but gentle sympathy. In one inscription, though a late one, we find an elaborate description of the beauty of the young wife buried below, of her yellow hair, her bright eyes, her snow-white forehead, the ruddy lips and ivory teeth of her lovely mouth. These things were past, it is true, but even so

they were something better to look back upon than ugliness.

Sometimes, however, through the general level of cheeriness a sadder note breaks :—

"My name is Athenaïs, and with grief I go to my place among the dead, leaving my husband and my darling children. A grudging web the Fates spun for me."

When youthful promise is early cut off it is scarcely possible that it should be spoken of without a sound of sad regret. Even the statement of the fact produces this impression :—

"If fortune had continued thy life, Macareus, and brought thee to manhood, strong wast thou in the hope that thou wouldst become the guiding spirit of tragic art among the Hellenes. But thou diest not without fame for discretion and virtue."

Even here consolation comes in to modify regret, so true to the happy disposition of the Greeks is the charming saying of Spenser, "A dram of sweete is worth a pound of sowre!"

As in sepulchral reliefs, so in epitaphs, the Greek mourner usually turns his thought to the past, and dwells on the life which is over rather than on any which may be beginning. Nevertheless we do find, here and there, some allusions to the state of the departed which are of great interest, and which furnish us with evidence on a subject still obscure and much discussed, the beliefs of the ordinary minds among the Greeks as to the future life, and as to reward and punishment in it. The small space which these allusions occupy, compared with the whole body of epitaphs, shows how small a corner of Athenian thought was taken up with meditation on matters outside the present life. This was, as we shall see in the next chapter, less the case in Dorian and

North Greek cities. But the materialism of the Greeks was rather natural and practical than speculative, and we nowhere find any positive denial of future existence. In one or two epitaphs there is an appearance of such denial, but its meaning must not be pressed. Thus, in one case, we find the phrase, "Rising out of earth I am become earth again," and in another epitaph, one Nicomedes, who calls himself the servant of the Muses, says that he is "clad in wakeless sleep." Here we probably only have popular phrases used in a vague and indefinite sense, and without the least intention of theorizing on the nature of the soul. Commoner still are even more vague phrases as to the destination of the soul, which is said to fly to heaven, to air, or to aether.* It is aether which is said in the metrical inscription first quoted to receive the souls of the slain Athenian warriors. So in the following:—

"Here Dialogus, student of wisdom, his limbs purged with pure fire, is gone to the immortals. Here lie naked the bones of Dialogus the discreet, who practised virtue and wisdom; them a little dust hides sprinkled over them; but the spirit from his limbs the broad heaven has received."

Dialogus was presumably a philosopher and had learned the difference between soul and body. The words, heaven and the immortals, have to him a somewhat vague meaning, representing rather something hoped for than believed in and expected. There is a stronger flavour of philosophic materialism in the following:—"Damp aether holds the soul and mighty intellect of Eurymachus, but his body is in this tomb." The word *αἰθήρ*, aether, is certainly used by Homer to signify the abode of the gods, and no doubt the poet of our metrical inscription had Homer in his mind, but here

* *οὐρανός*, *αἰθήρ*.

the word "damp" (ὑγρός) seems to point to some materialist notion as to the nature of spirit and its affinity to the upper air. A more popular interpretation must be accepted in other cases, such as: "Earth sent thee forth to light, Sibyrtius, and earth holds thy remains, but aether, the source of thy soul, has received it again."

But the vulgar notions with regard to the future state were certainly borrowed from Homer, sucked in by the many with their mothers' milk, or at latest imbibed at school, where Homer occupied the place taken by the Bible in our Church schools. The Greeks generally were inclined to regard Homer as infallible, and so, when they thought of the future state at all, pictured it according to his teaching. Hence they made it a shadowy realm under the government of Hades and Persephone, a poor washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth. The dead go to the chamber of Persephone, or, as it is sometimes phrased, the chamber of the blessed. "The bones and the flesh of our sweet son lie in earth, but his soul is gone to the chamber of the holy." It is clear, from some other inscriptions, that in that chamber rewards were supposed to await the good, and punishments the bad. Thus one man writes on the grave of his nurse, "And I know that, if below the earth there be rewards for the good, for thee, nurse, more than for any, is honour waiting in the abode of Persephone and Pluto." The suggestive *if* is again repeated elsewhere. "If there is with Persephone any reward for piety, a share of that was bestowed on thee in death by Fate." The expression in both instances seems to be rather of a wish or longing than of a sure and certain hope.

Indeed, this wavering tone never becomes full and confident until we come down to the times of Christian inscriptions, when a sudden and marvellous change takes

place. To the Christian the place of interment is no longer a tomb, but a sleeping-place. When he speaks of aether and heaven as receiving the soul, the words have quite another ring. Though Christian epitaphs at Athens be somewhat beyond my province, I cannot avoid introducing one or two, if merely for the sake of contrast. The following charmingly combines the genial backward glance of the Greek with the forward glance of the Christian :—

"Look, friend, on the sacred beauty of Asclepiodota, of her immortal soul and body, for to both nature gave one undefiled beauty, and if Fate seized her it vanquished her not; in her death she was not forsaken, nor did she abandon her husband though she left him, but now more than ever watches him out of heaven, and rejoices in him and guards him."

Or take another :—

"His body is hidden here in earth, but his soul is escaped to Heaven (*αἰθήρ*) and returned to its source, for he has obtained the reward of the best of lives."

Sometimes one catches a note of a still higher strain: "There, whence pain and moans are banished, take thy rest." I think no one can deny that these epitaphs are quite equal to the pagan ones in literary taste and felicity of language, while in sentiment they mark a striking advance.

It would have been natural to expect that the religion of Isis, which among all ancient faiths clung most closely to the belief in a future life, and which owed to that circumstance its great influence among the later Greeks, would have left in the epitaphs some traces of a surer hope and trust in what was beyond the grave. But such is not the case; and a still more remarkable omission is to be noticed. The great Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated annually, within a few miles of Athens. The

whole population must have known more or less of the meaning of the ceremonies; and there were probably few adult Athenians who had not been initiated. But it has always been supposed that the continuance of the dead and the life to come were the chief matters on which light was thrown during the celebration. It has been thought that the analogy between the sowing of wheat and the burying of the dead, that analogy which the Apostle Paul works out in full detail, was then insisted on. Cicero speaks of the mysteries of Eleusis as some of the noblest productions of Attic soil, and declares that they impart not only directions for leading a better life, but also a better hope in death. Polygnotus painted on the walls of the *Lesche* at Delphi the punishments suffered in Hades by those who neglected to have themselves initiated in the mysteries. Yet in all the Attic epitaphs which have come down to us, we discern not a trace of any such doctrine as we should have been disposed, from such indications, to attribute to the College of Priests who conducted the mysteries. When the next world is at all spoken of, it either appears as the Homeric realm of Hades and his bride Persephone, or else is mentioned in the vague language of the philosophers as aether and heaven. The conclusion seems inevitable. We are strongly warned against attributing too much influence over the ordinary mind, or any very lofty and spiritual teaching, to the mysteries. The wise men, like Cicero and Plutarch, may have found in them deep meaning and profound consolation, reading into them the results of their own philosophy and faith; just as some writers of recent times have read into them most of the doctrines of Christianity. But to the common people they were probably a string of outward observances with little inner meaning. Like the sacraments of Christianity, to which in many respects they

were parallel, they had a strong tendency to lose all life and become mere form. That their secret was so well preserved can be attributed to but one cause—that their secret, such as it was, was not of a kind that could be communicated. It is certain that throughout Greece, in antiquity, the future life was by the common people looked upon with distaste, if not with dread; and that they had no doctrine tending to soften its repulsion.

Moral reflections and words of advice form a not unfrequent ending to Athenian epitaphs. Sometimes in these nothing more is expressed than a kindly wish for the reader. Thus one stranger after stating that he was shipwrecked, adds in genial spirit, "May every sailor safely reach his home!" Another wishes for all wayfarers who read the stone a prosperous journey. Sometimes there is a general observation: "It is rare for a woman to be at once noble and discreet;" or a quotation from a poet, as in the case of the well-known line, "Those whom the gods love die early." Sometimes the occasion is improved, as a Scotch minister would say, and a little sermon read to the passer-by, who is advised to live virtuously, "knowing that the abode of Pluto beneath is full of wealth and has need of nothing," —virtues, that is to say, and not riches, are the only things which will avail after death.

So far with regard to metrical inscriptions. The long inscriptions which are not metrical are nearly always of the same kind as the well-known epitaph of Shakespeare,—curses pronounced against those who shall in future time attempt to move or destroy the grave, curses of which the modern explorer makes very light, apparently supposing that their virtue has in the course of centuries departed. But in ancient time they might be more effectual. They are always of a very late date; so long as the people of Athens had a common feeling

and a common pride in their city there was small fear of the violation of the grave of a citizen; but under the Roman Emperors the Athenian citizenship and Greek nationality fell to pieces, and no one felt sure of the future. Herodes Atticus, the wealthiest citizen of Athens in the reign of Hadrian, who built the Athenians a splendid marble Odeum, set up a monument to his wife Appia Annia Regilla, "the light of the house," which he thought it necessary to fence by a very unpleasant string of threats.

"By the gods and heroes I charge any who hold this place not to move aught of this: and if any destroy or alter these statues and honours (τιμάς), for him may earth refuse to bear fruit, and sea become unsailable, and may he and his race perish miserably!"

The inscription goes on to heap blessings on those who keep the tomb in its place and pay it honour. A lady who bears the Roman name of Antonia hands over, in her epitaph, her tomb to keep to Pluto and Demeter and Persephone and all the nether gods, calling down a curse on all who violate it. In another epitaph we find a formidable list of diseases which are likely to seize the violator—palsy, fever, ague, elephantiasis, and the rest. In another instance the dimensions of the curse are curtailed, and it is put neatly into two hexameter verses, "Move not the stone from the earth, villain, lest after *thy* death, wretch, dogs mangle thy unburied body."

In the last-quoted epitaph it is evidently the writer's intention to threaten a punishment according to the *lex talionis*. To move a tombstone was an offence of the same class, though in degree of course slighter, as to leave the body of a dead man unburied. It is well-known how keenly every Greek dreaded that his body should after his death be deprived of burial-rites, and how bitterly he condemned all who through fear or

carelessness abandoned dead friends to dogs and vultures. No doubt this dread was connected with the very ancient and widespread notion that those who remained unburied could not rest in the grave, were repelled from the gates of the world of spirits, and hovered as unhappy ghosts in the vicinity of their corpses. As the first step towards exposing a dead body was the tearing down of the stone which covered it, and as the stone was moreover closely associated with the dead, some of the mysterious horror which guarded the corpse was transferred to the gravestone above it. We may consider ourselves happy that among us gravestones are protected not by curses but by blessings, by cherished memories and associations; and so perhaps it was in the better times at Athens; only when the old civilisation was falling into corruption, all gentler ties were loosed, and every man fought for himself and his, with any weapons which came nearest.

One closes the *Corpus of Sepulchral Inscriptions* with a feeling of surprise; surprise that a people so gifted as the Athenians should be so helpless and tongue-tied in the presence of death. The reliefs do not disappoint a reasonable expectation; in taste at least they put our modern cemeteries to shame, if the range of ideas expressed is somewhat narrow. But the inscriptions are at a far greater depth below Greek poetry and oratory than the reliefs are below the best Greek sculpture. The reason may partly be that the reliefs are the work of professionals, the inscriptions of amateurs. But there are two other reasons of a more satisfactory character. The first of these I have already mentioned, that except in the case of soldiers and of public characters, such as eminent poets, it was considered in bad taste at Athens to have an epitaph at all; those, therefore, which we find are mostly written by persons of the less respectable

classes, and in the later and worse times of the city. But the deepest reason, at least from the modern point of view, is that the Greek mind found in death no inspiring force; they might regard its inevitable power with equanimity and even cheerfulness, but in any way to rejoice in its presence, to look upon it with hope and warmth of heart, did not consist with the point of view of their religion. Such feelings at such a time are inspired only by one or two religions of the world, among which there is no place for naturalism.

CHAPTER XI.

SPARTAN TOMBS AND THE CULTUS OF THE DEAD.*

IN no class of ancient monuments have more extensive or more important discoveries been made of late than in the class of sepulchral monuments, so that we have now to revise in fresh light our opinions of a few years ago. In some respects we have altogether to remodel those opinions. So rapid is in our days the growth of Greek archaeological science, that every year consigns to limbo some dictum of the older school of archaeologists, who laid down rules as to Greek art with all the courage of limited experience.

But the chief discoveries of sepulchral reliefs have been made outside Attica. Nothing has appeared to throw doubt on the thesis, set forth in the last chapter and firmly established by the discovery of the great Athenian cemetery by the gate Dipylon, that in sculpturing their tombs the minds of the Athenians exhibited a strong tendency to look backwards rather than forwards, to dwell on the life which finds its termination in the grave, rather than on that which there begins. But we now know that the custom of referring only to the life of the past was not by any means universally observed in the subjects painted and sculptured on Greek tombs. It was

* The subject of this paper is treated more in detail, and with citation of authorities, in an article entitled *A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum*, by the present writer, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1884.

the line taken by the high art of Athens and other great cities; indeed, it best suited the instincts of all Greek art, to which all that was vague and mystic was repulsive and ugly. But it did not altogether satisfy the emotions and beliefs of the common people, especially in the more backward cities of Hellas, and among conservative races like the Dorians and Arcadians. They did not believe that human life ended at the grave, and they did not content themselves with representations which seemed to imply that such was the case. They loved to think of and represent their dead ancestors as still living.

In the year 1877 Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer, then members of the German school of Athens, wandering through Peloponnese in the laudable fashion of German students, and eagerly looking out for works of ancient art, lighted at Sparta upon some very remarkable monuments then recently exhumed. These were certain stelae or slabs, bearing a relief which represented two persons, a man and a woman, enthroned side by side, and depicted in a very archaic style of art. The man usually holds a wine-cup, and the woman grasps the end of her veil. A snake appears close behind the pair, and sometimes there are depicted as approaching them with offerings, votaries, whom their diminutive size shows to be of far less dignity than the principal figures. It was at once evident to the discoverers of these slabs that the subject depicted on them was the offering of sacrifices to a male and female deity. But, as is so often the case with new and important discoveries, the whole bearing of the reliefs was not at first seen. Two theories were at once mooted in regard to them. One set of archaeologists saw in the seated male figure holding the wine-cup the god Dionysus, and in his consort either Ariadne, or perhaps Persephone, who was in some parts of Greece regarded as the wife

of the Chthonic Dionysus. Other archaeologists preferred to consider the pair as Hades and Persephone, the great deities of the unseen world, and supposed that the intention was to represent sacrifices brought to them by mortals as a propitiation, and in hopes to secure their favour in the world of shades. Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer accepted at first the view last mentioned, and adduced several arguments in its favour. They pointed out the prevalence of the worship of Hades and the great goddesses of nature in several parts of Peloponnesus, particularly at Andania in Messenia, and in Arcadia, and tried to show that the character of the offerings was well fitted to the cultus of these dread powers of the future world. The wine-cup in the hand of Hades they regarded as a substitute for the horn which he more commonly carries.

This view, though incorrect, was at the time very natural. But very shortly a number of monuments of a similar kind were brought to light in other parts of the Peloponnesus and of Northern Greece, which made it impossible longer to doubt of the true meaning of the Spartan stelae.

For instance, at Sparta two slabs were discovered which had certainly served as tombstones, and bore the names of Timocles and Aristocles respectively. On each of these was represented a seated male figure, holding wine-cup and pomegranate. Here the representation was evidently of the man who was buried in the tomb. And in other cases the person thus seated is female, in some cases holding a pomegranate or feeding a serpent from a cup.

These fresh instances have suggested for the earlier-found and better-known Spartan reliefs a new interpretation which is, I believe, universally accepted. The pair seated in state must be the deceased hero or ancestor and his wife. They await the offerings of their descen-

dants and votaries, who bring them such objects as were in Greece commonly offered to the dead—fowls, and eggs, and pomegranates. The snake who accompanies them is the well-known companion and servant of the dead.

We find, then, in Peloponnesus and in other parts of Greece, in quite early times, abundant monuments testifying to the prevalence of a widely-spread cultus of the dead. We have proof that not only did the gods, and those heroes of old who had almost stepped into the rank of the gods, receive worship and sacrifice in the temples and houses of the Greeks, but also ordinary human beings after their death. In text-books which deal with Greek antiquities we had already read of these customs, but they had hitherto been supposed to have left little trace in literature and in art. Men well acquainted with Greek history and customs had often scarcely heard of them or given them a thought. But now the evidences of the customs of *νεκύσια* in Greece need no longer be sought in writers of Alexandrian times and in inscriptions. They are thrust under the eyes of all who gain but a superficial acquaintance with Greek art. It is not too much to say that the new discoveries are to archaeologists quite a revelation, and of the greatest value to those who care to study the origin and the history of religious belief.

We will briefly set forth the Greek beliefs on the subject of the life after death, and next, give a general view of the Greek sepulchral monuments which illustrate those beliefs.

An idea which commonly prevails among barbarous peoples as to the life after death is, that it is in essentials merely a continuation of the ordinary mundane existence. When alive the warrior requires a house, when dead he must be sheltered in a tomb; and the form and arrangements of early tombs often follow those of the house

When alive the warrior requires food; when he is dead food must still be brought to him in his new abode. He must have drink also, and pleasant smells, lamps to light his darkness, and abundant vesture and armour for him to wear. As hunting was the principal pleasure in life, so in the life after death the warrior must have all things necessary for the chase. His horse and his dog must be slain and buried with him, that they may continue their services to their master. His wife must also attend his steps to the new state of existence; and enemies must be slain at the spot where he is buried, in order that he may have slaves to do his behests in the future as in the past.

This general statement is fully borne out by the testimony afforded by the graves of ancient peoples. The walls of Egyptian tombs are painted with innumerable scenes of public and religious and private life—scenes like those amid which the dead man had passed his days. To the real scenes the paintings bore a similar resemblance to that which the shadowy life of the tomb bore to the real life of the flesh. The interior of Etruscan tombs is adorned with scenes of revelry, of amusement, and sport, to glad the eyes of the hero hovering within and disperse his *ennui;* and in these tombs are found the bones of the warrior's horse and dog which were slain to bear him company on the last journey. In early Greek graves are found armour and vestments, cups and vases, weapons and utensils. The writer will not easily lose the sense that the Greeks at one time really believed in this life of the tomb which flashed upon him when, in turning over the spoils found by Dr. Schliemann in the tombs of Mycenae, he came upon a whetstone, actually put among the swords that their edge might be renewed when blunted with use.

In the later times of the Egyptians and the Greeks

this naïve faith died away, and was replaced by beliefs of a more worthy and spiritual kind. Men came to believe in a realm of souls far away beyond the desert or hidden in the depths of the earth, and presided over by mighty and just rulers. They began to feel that it was the soul only that survived death, and that it did not stay at the tomb, but went on a long journey, and abode far from descendant and townsman. But we find always in history that customs outlast the beliefs which gave birth to them, and often survive into quite a different state of opinion. So it was in this case. The burial customs which arose when the grave was supposed to be a real abode were kept up when the soul was believed entirely to quit the body at death. It was still in the tomb that provision for the future life was heaped up. It was in the actual mouth of the corpse that the fee for Charon, the ferryman, was placed. It was to the very place of burial that offerings were brought on the all souls' days of antiquity. The logical complement of the later doctrine of Hades would have been to regard as immaterial what happened to the body after death. But this was a point never reached by ancient nations; they always regarded want of burial of the body as fatal to the bliss of the soul in Hades.

Changes did, however, take place in burial customs in consequence of the growing discordance between them and popular belief. They were still maintained, but in more and more perfunctory and unreal fashion. The arms and ornaments buried with the dead became flimsier and less fit for use. Every archaeologist knows that sometimes the graves of Greece and Etruria contain the mere pretence of offerings: gold ornaments as thin as paper; loaves and fruits of terra-cotta; weapons unfit for use, and vases of the most unserviceable kind. "In sacris simulata pro veris accipi," wrote Servius; and in no class

of sacred rites does hollow pretence more commonly take the place of reality than in those connected with funerals and tombs.

Such, in merest outline, is the history of Greek beliefs as to the life beyond the grave during the course of the historical ages. And if we examine a few examples of the various groups of sepulchral monuments to be found in various parts of Hellas, we shall find ample illustration of our sketch.

Among the earliest of Greek sculptured tombstones are those Spartan reliefs of which mention has already been made. In them we see the departed ancestor and ancestress seated like gods to receive the homage of survivors. When the seated hero holds out a wine-cup, it seems a broad hint to survivors to fill it. Accordingly, in Boeotian and other reliefs, we actually see a female figure approaching to fill from a pitcher the extended vessel. And upon Greek graves there commonly lay, as we learn from the testimony of excavations, an amphora of coarse ware to receive the doles of wine brought to the cemetery. The food brought by suppliants on the Peloponnesian stelae consists of eggs and fowls, and more especially the pomegranate. This last seems to have been the recognised food of the shades. Hades gives it to his stolen bride, Persephone; and she, by eating it, becomes incapable of quitting the place of the dead to return to her bright existence in the upper air. And to this day pomegranate seeds are one element in the sweet cakes which are made to be distributed by those who have lost a friend, at certain intervals after his death, cakes evidently representing those bestowed in old times on the lost friend himself.

This realism of offerings to the dead naturally suggests to us that the idea of offerings of food and wine to the deities themselves arose from the transfer to them of

ideas originally connected with dead mortals. In historical times the Greeks made wide distinction between the offerings to deities and those brought to heroes, both as to time and mode and as to the objects sacrificed; but this distinction is not fundamental, and we cannot help looking on the whole custom of sacrifice as one imported into the cultus of deities from that of the dead. It is not unusual to represent deities also in sculpture as holding out a cup or vessel, and it seems clear that whatever meaning the Greeks attached to the action in later times, it must in earlier have signified a readiness to receive offerings. Great sculptors substituted for this action, which to them seemed trivial or mean, some higher motive, placing a Victory or a sceptre in the hands of the greater divinities; but in case of some of the lesser, such as Τύχη, Fortune, the patera remained to the end a not unusual attribute.

The snake which is erect behind the pair stands in a very intimate relation to the dead. His habit of dwelling in holes in those rocky spots which the Greeks chose for their cemeteries, amid which he mysteriously appeared and disappeared, originated the idea that he was either the companion or even the impersonation of the dead (incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis esse putet*); and the idea was fostered by the manners of the reptile, his shyness when approached, and the wisdom and subtilty attributed to him by the ancients. It is curious to find, in other reliefs, the horse and the dog in the place of the snake. Their presence, indeed, is not in itself surprising. They have their place beside their master in the sculpture by the same right by which their bones were laid beside his in the grave. As they died with him and are his companions in the fields of Elysium, so they swell his state when he sits to receive homage and

* *Aeneid*, v. 95.

offerings. Yet it is somewhat strange to find horse and dog, which imply a free and open life of hunting and amusement, alternately with the sad and cold serpent, which belongs to no happy hunting-ground, but to the rocky soil of the cemetery.

Such being the symbolism of Spartan tombs, we naturally inquire with what purpose these designs were sculptured. With us a gravestone is merely a reminder, placed on the spot where some of our friends are laid, and intended to awake in the survivors memories, sad, indeed, yet touched with a certain melancholy pleasure, since it can never be altogether sorrowful to think of those we have loved, even after their departure.

But we are accustomed, it must be remembered, to look upon images as mere works of art, and quite without associations of worship. The Greeks, on the other hand, being idolators—that is to say, accustomed to assist their religious sentiments by images of the gods in painting and in sculpture—were accustomed also to consider the presence of the gods as especially belonging to their images. And there can be no doubt that they carried the same associations to the reliefs on the tombs of their ancestors. They regarded those worthies as distinct, of course, from the images of them on the tombs, and yet they supposed that there was a bond of connection between the two, and that the soul of the deceased ancestor was present in the carving on his tomb as he was not present elsewhere. These reliefs, then, are in a sense the idols of the domestic worship of the Greeks, or at least of the less civilised tribes among them, and were never looked upon without a touch of religious awe.

A series of monuments beginning at a scarcely later date than the Spartan stelae is that of the Lycian rock-cut tombs of the Xanthus valley. Some of these are elabo-

rate architectural monuments, adorned with a profusion of sculpture, and of great importance for the history of art. But all these monuments, including the Harpy tomb, the Nereid monument, and the *heroön* recently discovered at Gyöl Bashi, served undoubtedly as memorials of chiefs or kings buried beneath them. The sculptured friezes which adorn them embody sometimes heroic or local myths. Sometimes, as in the case of the Nereid monument, they seem to commemorate historical deeds and expeditions. But certainly, in several instances, they bear reliefs representing the buried ruler as enthroned in state, waiting to receive the homage of survivors. As an instance, we may cite the pediment-sculptures of the well-known Nereid monument, now in the British Museum. Here the presence of votaries suggests, and even proves, that the scene represented belongs to the life beyond the tomb, and not to the mundane existence of the buried king.

German *savants* have of late advocated the theory that the mysterious seated figures, which adorn the beautiful archaic Lycian monument in the British Museum which is known as the Harpy tomb, are really deceased heroes and heroines seated to receive offerings from votaries who reverently approach them. Hitherto the sculptures of this lovely monument have offered a wide field for conjectural explanations, some of a very fanciful character; but without fully declaring in favour of the new interpretation, we must confess that it is far better in accord than are most others with the simplicity of early art, and the primitive beliefs which we have reason to attribute to the Lycian race.

And in connection with these Peloponnesian and Lycian reliefs we must consider the large class of sepulchral reliefs which represent a feast, and which reach us from all parts of Greece, especially from Athens, where they

form in the later period a group differing in character from the ordinary Attic grave-reliefs.

We begin with a simple and ordinary class: . Male figure reclining on couch; at his feet seated female figure; before the couch a tripod covered with eatables and drinkables, with a slave to serve them; while the man is feasting, the woman commonly draws her veil about her. Or the male figure reclines alone. It is evident that here we have nothing to give a colour or a flavour to the scene; the feast is to all appearance an every-day one. It is well known that the heroes of Homer sit at table; and the custom of reclining came in at some time between the age of Homer and historical times. The custom never spread to women, at least of the modest class, nor to boys. We are told that in Macedon boys were not allowed to recline at table until they had slain a boar, which sometimes did not happen until they were middle-aged; Cassander for instance had to sit like a boy until he reached his thirty-fifth year. When men dined together in Greece modest women were not present; but when a man dined at home his wife would naturally be present, not reclining with him, nor probably eating with him, but sitting by to entertain him with her talk while he dined. The group which I have described is therefore an ordinary scene from the private life of the Greeks. Sometimes the seated wife rests her head on her hand in an attitude which to the Greeks signified grief. This may seem a jarring note at a feast; but we know that it was customary in Athenian grave-reliefs which represent scenes of daily life to introduce some such touch as this, to show that the beautiful picture has been spoiled by the hand of death, that it was not destined to last, and that already the shadow of coming change was thrown on to the happy scene. In the same way we may interpret another adjunct some-

times found in banqueting scenes which certainly come from actual tomb-stones, a snake twined round a tree in the background.

So far we find nothing to throw doubt on the theory of some writers that the daily banquet was introduced in sepulchral reliefs, from the same motives as other scenes of domestic life which so commonly appear on the tombs of Athens. What scene could be more characteristic of domestic felicity, what memory more pleasing to recall on a gravestone than these happy moments, when physical satisfaction of bodily needs went with pleasant talk and social enjoyment?

We may even go further and say that to certain reliefs of the class, this view alone seems appropriate. For example, one of the earliest and most interesting among them is on a tomb in the celebrated Athenian cemetery on the Sacred Way.* It represents two men reclining on a couch, with food as usual set before them, and their two wives seated by; in the foreground is a galley, in which is Charon with his hand extended towards the feasters. A comparison with other Athenian reliefs leads us to think that this banquet, at all events, is one of every-day life. The sudden appearance in the midst of social enjoyment of one empowered to summon to the next world is a striking fancy, rather in accordance, one would think, with the taste of the Etruscans than that of the Greeks, yet by no means unknown in Greek and even Athenian sepulchral reliefs. We may instance the well-known relief inscribed with the name Μυρρίνη where Hermes appears† leading by the hand the girl Myrrhina from the midst of her family, to convey her to Hades.

Indeed this simple explanation of the group is in almost all cases tenable where the monument is of Athe-

* Salinas, *Monumenti Sepolcrali*, Pl. iv.

† Ravaisson, *Le monument de Myrrhine.*

nian provenience, and the relief belongs to an early period. But yet when we consider these banqueting reliefs as a class, and observe the frequency with which there occur on them some of those devices, the snake, the horse, the dog, which appear with full meaning on the early reliefs of Peloponnesus, we shall be disposed to think that the origin of them is to be connected with the memorials of Greek ancestor-worship, and that they embody Peloponnesian rather than Athenian views. They seem to have reference to the customs already mentioned of bringing at stated times food and wine to the grave of the ancestor, a custom known to the Greeks under the name of *νεκύσια* and the origin of the modern custom of laying flowers on the graves of friends.

And we thus see that the feelings which in pre-historic ages gave birth to the worship of ancestors never died out among the Hellenes. To the last days of their pagan life no subject was more commonly depicted on their tombs than the offerings to forefathers, and no custom was more religiously kept up than those relating to the periodical visitation of the dead.

Dr. Milchhoefer, in an able paper on these banqueting reliefs,* has made an observation which is so good as to deserve special notice. They are found, he observes, not usually in cemeteries, but in temples, especially the temples of Asclepius and other deities of healing. Thus they indicate that the custom of dedicating spots in great religious buildings to saints whose aid may be there sought by descendant or votary is no invention of the Christian church, but had a prototype in the customs of heathen Greece.

In some minds the question may arise whether the Greeks, when they sculptured the feasts of the dead, supposed those feasts to take place in the tomb, at

* *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, 1887, p. 23.

which they commonly deposited their offerings, or in Hades, the realm of the shades. This is a question which it is easier to ask than to answer; indeed, it cannot be satisfactorily answered, for it is a matter in which the Greeks had never fully made up their minds. The gods dwelt in Olympus, yet they were also present on their temples. In the same way the dead were imagined to dwell in the world of shades, and yet they knew what took place at their tombs, and could enjoy the offerings there set out for them. The spot where a man's body is laid can never be entirely divorced from his personality. Do not we ourselves regard as sacred the spot where the body of a friend sleeps in death, although among us the idea of the distinctness of soul and body is far more clear and general than among the Greeks? These are confusions of thought so deeply worked into the web of human nature that it may be doubted if they will ever be worked out of it.

We moderns could easily understand that deities should be depicted as reclining on a couch to receive the homage of mankind. And we could understand that the banqueting-reliefs of tombs should be mere transcripts from ordinary daily life. But we find it very hard to understand how the Greeks, possessing the notions of the future life with which we meet in Homer and Pindar, and in the mockeries of Lucian, could erect such frequent monuments at all periods as memorials of the worship of the dead. We find it difficult simply because the frame of mind implied is one of which we have no experience. But the view hardest to receive is that which is true.

Let us next turn to another class of reliefs, those in which the deceased is represented, not as seated in state, but as riding on a horse, or leading one by the bridle. These designs are not found at Sparta, though they have

been sometimes discovered at Argos and elsewhere in Peloponnesus. But they belong more especially to Northern Greece, particularly to Boeotia. I think that the veneration for ancestors implied in them is less intense than that implied in the Spartan reliefs, and for several reasons. At Sparta the hero is seated on a throne, in an attitude which belongs only or properly to the greater deities, especially Zeus and Hades. In Boeotia he is no longer seated but riding. The Greeks did not represent their greater deities, excepting Poseidon, as riding on horseback, though they not unfrequently place them in chariots. This would seem to them a position of insufficient dignity. But there was a lower and less exalted race of beings than the gods, whom the Greeks did in a marked degree associate with horses. These are the demi-gods or heroes, mostly the sons of the gods by a mortal mother, like Heracles and Asclepius and Castor and Pollux. There was a decided distinction in Greece between the honours of these subordinate beings and those paid to the gods. And it is notable that the heroes were usually represented as riders. Everyone knows that this was the case with the twins Castor and Pollux, termed the Dioscuri, or the sons of Zeus *par excellence.* And those acquainted with Greek vases and other remains know that the same character belonged more or less to all those unnumbered heroes who enjoyed temples in later Greece as founders of cities, or great warriors or inventors of useful arts, or as noted benefactors of the human race. The inscription engraved on a notable relief of this class is this:* "Dedicated to Aleximachus by Calliteles." And it is supposed that Aleximachus is not the real name of the dead person thus commemorated, but a sort of state name or heroic name bestowed on him after death by those who wished

* In the Sabouroff Collection.

to raise him to the rank of a local hero. Such heroising of any man who was in his life at all distinguished was usual in all parts of Greece, and at all periods of Greek history.

A point which requires some notice in both the Spartan and Boeotian reliefs is the very frequent presence on them of a lady accompanying the divine or semi-divine ancestor. Naturally we suppose her to be his wife. And this interpretation very well suits the Spartan tombs, where she sits by the hero's side in equal state. At Sparta women were held in higher honour than in the rest of Greece. Elsewhere they were looked on often either as household drudges or as mere playthings, but in Sparta they were regarded as real helpers to the men, and capable of that patriotism which the Spartans regarded as the highest virtue. And as a consequence of this esteem we find women in more than one of the crises of Spartan history, when the city was in danger from invasion or sedition, come nobly to the front and save the State which had treated them honourably. At Sparta, then, there is no reason why they should not occupy a divine place beside their husbands after death, as they had occupied a place beside him when alive. But in the rest of Greece such honour paid to a deceased woman might well seem excessive. And in the horseman-reliefs of Northern Greece she does not seem to share the worship of the hero, but rather to be doing honour to him, to meet him with an offering, and to pour wine into the cup which he holds out to be filled.

It is even quite possible that, as a matter of artistic tradition and development, the ordinary reliefs of Attic tombs may originate in the same circle of ideas. Some of the earliest of the Athenian reliefs seem to indicate this. In the so-called Leucothea-relief, for instance, a work of the time of the Persian Wars, which represents

a dead mother seated and embracing for the last time her infant, while other children stand before her, we have in the general composition, the seated lady and the small figures standing before her, an echo of the Spartan reliefs with seated hero and ancestress, and small votaries approaching. The line is carried on by the reliefs of a century later, in which seated ladies receive caskets from their attendant maids; in which case we may suppose that the likeness to the scene common on vases, where the dead person seated on the steps of the tomb receives gifts from the living, is not fortuitous. It is however usually a mistake to consider the productions of developed sculpture too closely in the light of their origin. And in this case the fact already pointed out, that the dead person frequently is not seated but standing, shows that the class of monuments treated in the last chapter had broken away from the ideas of ancestor worship, and gained a new centre in the scenes of daily life.

There yet remain various funeral customs of the Greeks which still await explanation, although we feel that the explanation is brought nearer year by year by new discoveries. For example, the beautiful figures of terra-cotta which of late years have reached us in such quantities from Asia and Greece, especially Tanagra, are connected with Greek burials in a very remarkable way. They are frequently found in connection with tombs. But they are not placed in the graves in an orderly or regular fashion. At Tanagra and Myrina and other sites they are seldom found entire, but almost always broken in a purposeful manner, the head usually torn off and lying apart. And they are as often to be met with in the earth over and beside a grave as in the grave itself. Messrs. Pottier and Reinach* express their conviction,

* *La Nécropole de Myrina: Bull. Corr. Hell.* vol. vii.

based upon a long induction, that the friends of the deceased must have stood beside the grave as it was being filled with earth with these pretty images in their hands, and thrown them—first breaking them—into the hole. How can so strange a custom be explained? M. Rayet has proposed a remarkable theory on the subject. In early times, he remarks, men slew at the graves of departed chiefs their female kin or captive women to accompany them to the next world. It seems, then, likely that these terra-cotta women of the graves are the later representatives of these real women, just as terra-cotta loaves of bread and fruits take the place of real food; and that they were thrown into the tomb to people the solitude of the grave, and to furnish the dead man with pleasing companionship in the world of shades. This theory would account for two things; first, for the fact that there are scarcely any representations of bearded men among terra-cotta images—they are nearly all of women and of boys; and secondly, for the custom of breaking the images, the breaking taking the place of the earlier slaying.

Interesting as the newly-discovered Peloponnesian reliefs are to students of Greek art and ancient life, they are at least equally important to anthropologists who look beyond Greece to the very origin of civilisation. For they can undoubtedly be used in favour of the view of those who, like Mr. Herbert Spencer, suppose the worship of the gods to have arisen later than that of deceased human beings, and to be an outgrowth from it. If we find sculpture employed as early as the sixth century B.C. in places so far apart as Lycia and Peloponnesus in making figures of the dead for the worship of the living, and if we find at a later time a regular cultus of the dead prevailing and flourishing in all parts of Greece, it would seem that the set of ideas embodied

in these manifestations must have struck deep roots in the Greek mind. They seem to belong to a deeper and more primitive stratum than does the worship of the deities of Olympus. And this view is fully confirmed by the fact that whereas with the different branches of the Aryan race religious rites differ widely, and the names of the deities are diverse, yet the cultus of ancestors is common to several branches, and takes among them much the same form.

The whole, or nearly the whole, of the new evidence is the result of persevering researches of young members of the German School of Archaeology at Athens. This is one of the many investigations by which they and their French colleagues have benefited the cause of knowledge. And not only has knowledge been benefited, but not less the discoverers themselves. Such researches as these, conducted in the seats of ancient life, are really the only training by which archaeologists can be formed, or archaeology placed in its rightful position in the very front of historical studies. Museums of sculpture and of casts may help us; but it is to the British School at Athens that we look to recover for England a position like that which she once held, as the nation most deeply interested in the study of classical lands and the beautiful remains of classical architecture and art.

CHAPTER XII.

EPIDAURUS AND ANCIENT MEDICINE.

THE feeling of the noblest of the Greeks in regard to medicine is well set forth in the third book of Plato's *Republic*,* "Do you not hold it disgraceful to require medical aid, unless it be for a wound, or an attack of illness incidental to the time of year,—to require it, I mean, owing to our laziness, and the life we lead, and to get ourselves so stuffed with humours and wind, like quagmires, as to compel the clever sons of Asclepius to call diseases by such names as flatulence and catarrh." "Asclepius was aware that in all well-regulated communities each man has a work assigned to him in the State, which he must needs do, and that no one has leisure to spend his life as an invalid in the doctor's hands." Primitive doctrine truly! and sounding strangely out of date in an age when many of our great physicians spend all their lives in patching up the constitutions of those who are openly at war with the ordinances of mother nature, or in protracting for a few years the sufferings of those whom they cannot hope to cure.

Plato recognises as a true art the gymnastic, which trains healthy bodies to be active and vigorous and useful, and stigmatises as a false art the medicine which would relieve and perpetuate a life radically unhealthy. But even in Plato's time this must have been doctrine

* Pp. 405, 406. Translation of Davies and Vaughan.

much too lofty and too hard for the many. And as the moral tension of the Greek race grew laxer, so that they cared more and more for life and less and less for the causes of living, it must have passed more and more out of the reach of all but a very few.

One of the clearest indications of the change is to be found in the growth of the cultus of Asclepius. In the time of Homer, Asclepius is merely the blameless physician whose sons Podaleirius and Machaon led to Ilium the men of Tricca. The healing art was used for the treatment of outward wounds, not of inward infirmities; and in this restricted sense Paeëon is the physician of Olympus. At a later time the functions of Paeëon as god of health were absorbed by Apollo as deity of harmony and of perfect physical development, and therefore able to produce that vigorous health to which disease is as foreign as blight to a hardy and growing plant. We do not hear Asclepius spoken of as one of the greater of the gods until the time of Alexander the Great. But in the unsettled times which came later, when individualism triumphed and the State counted for little, when society was corrupt and moribund, and men's aim was to get out of life all the pleasure which it was capable of affording, physical health became a rarer blessing and its value grew greater and greater. Then Asclepius took his place in many districts at the very head of the Pantheon; in inscriptions he was termed *μέγας*, *σωτήρ*, *κύριος* and even *Ζεύς*; and his temples were perpetually thronged by an endless train of votaries begging the priceless boon of health for themselves or those whom they loved.

Of late years extensive excavations have taken place at three of the principal seats of Asclepian worship in ancient Greece—Athens, Epidaurus and Pergamon. The Pergamene excavations do not appear to have shed

much light on the cult; but those at Epidaurus, and the investigation of the precinct of Asclepius on the slope of the Acropolis of Athens, have produced an abundance of materials whereby we may discern the character of the worship of Asclepius, its relations to ancient medicine, and its bearings upon Greek life in general.

In early Greek days no doubt the clan of the Asclepiadae possessed something like a monopoly in the treatment of disease; such a monopoly as the Homeridae of Chios possessed in the recitation of some of the epic poems, or the Iamidae in certain kinds of divination. But that this monopoly was not inviolate before the Persian Wars is proved by the history of Democedes of Croton, one of the most renowned of the public or State physicians of Greece, who was by birth not an Asclepiad. Herodotus tells us his story: born at Croton he fled from an ill-tempered father to Aegina, and there in the first year of his stay, though lacking materials and instruments, gained a greater reputation than all the local physicians. In the second year the Aeginetans retained him as public physician at the high salary of a talent a year.† The Athenians however tempted him away by an offer of higher pay, and Polycrates of Samos secured his services for two talents a

* As to the excavations at Athens, see U. Koehler's papers in the *Mittheilungen* of the German School at Athens, and P. Girard's summary *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes*. The most important of the Epidaurian inscriptions is published by Kavvadias in the Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική for 1883.

† i.e. 6000 drachms. To most readers this statement will not convey its full meaning. The Aeginetan drachm being of about the weight of a shilling, the value in modern metal of a talent would be some £300; but considering the far greater value of money in antiquity, it is perhaps nearer the mark to reckon the drachm as ten shillings than as one. The Athenian dicasts received for a day's pay from the sixth to the half of a drachm.

year. Captured by the Persians he was sent to Darius, and at the Persian court continued his successes, curing a tumour in the breast of Atossa, and setting right the foot of Darius when sprained. Finally he became one of the chief causes which induced Darius to plan the invasion of Greece. We are told that his system was one of healing and soothing processes.

This instance is sufficient to show that physicians had a career before them in Greece as early as B.C. 500, and that they were retained by tyrants and republics as public doctors. No doubt they were bound in return for their pay to put themselves at the service of all citizens. There is extant an inscription from Carpathos,* wherein a certain doctor named Menecrates is praised for not deserting the city at a time of plague, but staying at his post, and even, though a poor man, expending a talent of his own money in relief of the sick. In an Athenian inscription† a Rhodian physician named Pheidias is awarded a wreath for volunteering his services gratis as public doctor. At Athens in the later period the public physicians united twice a year in solemn sacrifices to Asclepius and Hygieia on behalf of themselves and their patients.‡ As to the skill and attainments of these practitioners we have means of judging in the writings of Hippocrates, Galen and Celsus, which have come down to us. It is not a matter in which a layman can form a confident opinion. After forming at the time of the Renascence the staple of medical education, these writings have in recent years fallen into comparative neglect; a neglect perhaps beyond their

* *Revue Archéol.*, 1863, vol. viii. On Greek public doctors Dr. Vercoutre has written a series of papers in the same review, vol. xxxix. (1880).

† *C. I. A.* ii. 1, Addenda Nova, 256 b.

‡ Ibid., Add. Nova, 352 b.

deserts, for if we greatly surpass the Greeks in our experience of unhealthy conditions of life, their knowledge of health was surely wide and sound.

Perhaps the relation of Democedes to the Asclepiadae may have resembled that borne in our days by a successful homœopathic physician to regular practitioners. At any rate it is certain that for long after his time the Asclepiad clan kept medicine in a great degree in their own hands, and admitted but rarely strangers to share their privileges. It was from the branch of the gens connected with the temple of Cos that Hippocrates sprang, who in the days of the Peloponnesian War laid for all time the foundations of systematic medicine. It is to Hippocrates that the ancients ascribed the formulation of the oath taken in some cities by those who entered the profession of medicine, and though this attribution cannot be upheld, yet the oath is certainly early as well as interesting. I translate it in full: "I swear by Apollo the physician, Asclepius, Hygieia and Panaceia, and all gods and goddesses, calling them all to witness, that I will fulfil according to my power and judgment this oath and promise. I will reverence my teacher in this art as my own parents, give him of my living and fulfil his necessities: I will regard his issue as my own brothers, and will teach them this art, if they wish to learn it, without pay or obligation: I will admit to teaching, to lecture and all other instruction, my own sons and those of my teacher, and pupils who are articled and have taken the oath pertaining to physicians, and none beside. I will use a regimen suited to the good of the sick according to my power and judgment, and preserve them from harm and injury: I will give no man poison at his request, nor will give such advice: likewise will I administer no harmful drug to women. I will preserve my life and

practice pure and sound. I will not cut for stone, but leave that to those who practise the matter. When I enter a house I will go for the good of the sick, keeping myself from all wilful harm and injury and all lust towards man and woman, free and slave. All that I hear and see in my practice or out of my practice in ordinary life, if it should not be told outside, I will keep in silence, regarding this experience as secret. If I keep this oath sacred may I be successful in life and practice and in repute with all men for all time: but if I violate it and commit perjury may it be otherwise with me."

Meantime, beside the growing schools of scientific medicine, there sprang up, or survived, other sorts of treatment. Medicine as practised in the best schools of Greece is not our subject at present. We have only to speak of a kind of medicine which ancient as well as modern physicians would commonly regard as a kind of charlatanry.

In all ages there have been many natures which have revolted against the hard materialism which is the dominant creed in the high medical schools. In all ages many have preferred to look for relief even from physical ailments to some kind of miracle; have looked with more favour on faith than on mere prescriptions and drugs. And indeed, if there be any value in human testimony, faith has often been successful where drugs have failed. Among the Greeks persons, whose temper was such that they expected health from mere mental and spiritual influences, would naturally apply to the temples of Asclepius and enrol themselves among the votaries of the healing god. In so doing, they certainly fell in the way of a good deal of charlatanry, but they may nevertheless in some cases have attained their object. The effects of belief, even if that belief be based on insecure grounds, may often be solid enough.

The position of the temple of Asclepius at Athens was in winter pleasant and salubrious. It was placed on the southern side of the Acropolis rock, and by that rock was sheltered from the cold winds of the north, while exposed to the sun and to the breezes blowing fresh from the Aegean. It was above the level of the city, and looked over it to Aegina, "the eye-sore of the Piraeus," and Salamis and Acrocorinthus. The traces of walls which still remain within the precinct of the deity may be variously interpreted; but it is clear from an inscription* discovered *in situ* that there were two temples of the god, an older and a newer; and besides we can trace the ground plan of ranges of buildings of some extent, which must have served for the abode or at least the temporary accommodation of the crowds of votaries who came to the spot in search of health. In one chamber is a well, used no doubt for the ablutions which the god frequently prescribed, and which, together with gentle walks in the airy and warm galleries, go far to explain some of the cures which took place.

The temples were not more than small chapels, and filled with inscriptions and with reliefs set up by those who had been cured, and articles of value given by them as a fee to the healing god. Some of the reliefs and some of the inscriptions remain to our days. The reliefs are mostly of one class: they represent Asclepius and Hygieia, or sometimes Asclepius with other members of his family, standing or seated in dignity, and approached by a train of votaries, who bring with them sometimes an animal for sacrifice. Some of these reliefs belong to a good time of art, and are in composition and execution

* The inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. 1, Addenda 489 b; Girard, p. 6) records how one Diocles repaired the propylaea of the precinct, and restored the *old* temple, being allowed as a return to place on each an inscription recording his liberality.

most pleasing. But though these larger *anathemata* alone survive, the inscriptions tell us of many others which have long since been stolen or destroyed. It was a common custom to dedicate to Asclepius a model in precious metal, in stone or in wax, of that part of the body which had been healed by his intervention. Some people have fancied that an accumulation of votive offerings of this kind might in time constitute a sort of museum of pathology and be very instructive to students.* But those who entertain such a fancy can understand but little of the aesthetic and artistic side of the Greek nature. Such models would not represent the diseased member in its abnormal condition, but in that healthy condition to which it was restored by the god. It was health and beauty, not disease and deformity, which Greek artists depicted. This is no mere theoretical assertion; we possess in our museums a large number of stone models of eyes, breasts, arms and feet, and other parts of the human body, dedicated in memory of cures in ancient times. And many of these belong to a later time, when the purity of Greek artistic taste was overlaid by the barbarism of Asia and the realism of Rome. Yet they represent health merely; or if there be an allusion to disease it is no such brutal transcript as many a modern artist would delight in producing, but a mere hint.

We read also, in the inscriptions, of votive cocks made in the cheapest of all materials, terra-cotta, and dedicated either by those who were very poor, or by such mean worshippers as the μικροφιλότιμος of Theophrastus, who dedicates in the temple of Asclepius a bronze ring, and goes every day to clean it and rub it with oil. But many of the thankofferings presented to the temple were

* A passage of Strabo (xiv., p. 657) has been regarded as supporting this view; but it should be otherwise interpreted.

of quite another class, cups of silver and gold, jewels of value, censers and tripods.

The inscriptions found at Athens enlighten us as to the number and character of these dedications; they go into the utmost detail, and even describe the place where each was deposited, by such phrases as "in the second row," "behind the door," and the like. They also preserve to us decrees passed by the people in regard to the temple, and record the names of priests. But they do not give us, what is of far more interest in the present day, a record of the cures wrought in the temple. For that we must turn to the inscriptions discovered in the great Asclepian shrine at Epidaurus, the native city of the god. But, before doing so, we must linger for a few minutes over a delightful sketch of Aristophanes which brings up vividly before us the scenes daily enacted in the temple at Athens. The compilers of inscriptions often give us by their very simplicity a clear and exact view of circumstance, but they can scarcely transplant us, as does the genius of Aristophanes, into the very midst of ancient thought and feeling. Carion is relating to an old woman how the blind god Plutus fared when he went to the temple of Asclepius to seek a cure for his blindness * :—

"Carion: Directly we reached the abode of the god, taking with us this man (Plutus)—then in very evil case, but now happy and blessed beyond all men—first of all we led him to the sacred spring and washed him.

"Woman: Happy indeed he must have been—at his age being washed in a cold spring.

"Carion: Then we proceeded to the precinct of the god; and after offering on the altar the first sacrifices and pouring sweets on the flame of Hephaestus, we laid

* *Plutus*, 653, sqq. The following paraphrase gives only the substance of the dialogue.

Plutus on a couch in the approved fashion; then each of us arranged for himself a shake-down of straw.

"Woman: Were others there seeking aid of the god?

"Carion: Yes, one Neocleides, a blind man who at stealing beats men who can see; and many others suffering from every sort of disease. Then the servant of the god put out the lamps and bade us sleep, forbidding us if we heard a noise, to speak; so we all lay quiet. But I could not sleep, for my mind was disturbed by a pot of porridge, lying just over the head of an old woman, which I violently longed to creep up to. And, looking up, I saw the priest carrying off the cakes and figs from the sacred table; after which he went round to all the altars in turn to see if any cake were left, and consecrated them all,—into a bag. So I, concluding that this proceeding was in accord with religion, arose to hunt the porridge pot.

"Woman: Impudent man; feared you not the god?

"Carion: Aye, that indeed I did, lest he should get to the porridge before me, he and his chaplets; for it was his priest that showed me the way. But the woman, when she heard the noise I made, put out her hand, and I with a hiss seized it in my mouth like a sacred serpent; she drew it back in haste and lay huddled up in her clothes, smelling like a weasel in her fear. Then I gulped down most of the porridge, and when I had had my fill thought of sleep.

"Woman: Came not the god to you?"

Carion then describes how the god made his appearance followed by his daughters Iaso and Panaceia.

"I straightway covered myself up in terror, but he proceeded all round inspecting all the diseases in a most orderly fashion; then a slave set down by him a stone mortar and pestle and a medicine-chest.

"Woman: Of stone?

"Carion: No, not the chest.

"Woman: How could you see, you scoundrel, if, as you say, you were covered up?

"Carion: Why, through my cloak, for its holes were not a few, to be sure. First of all he set about grinding an ointment for Neocleides; he put in the mortar three heads of Tenian garlic, then he crushed them, mixing in fig-tree juice and squills, and moistening with Sphettian vinegar, anointed the inside of his eyelids, turning them back to increase the smart. Neocleides, shrieking and crying, rose to rush off; but the god said, with a laugh, 'Sit in plaster, so will I give you an excuse for not going to the assembly.'

"Woman: How clever the god is, and how patriotic.

"Carion: After that he sat down by Plutus, and first he handled his head, then with a clean towel wiped his eyelids, and Panaceia wrapped all his head and face in a purple cloth. Then the god whistled, and two snakes of huge size issued from the temple.

"Woman: Good heavens!

"Carion: Gently they entered under the cloth, and, as I thought, began to lick his eyelids round, and before you could drink ten ladles-full of wine, Plutus, madam, stood up a seeing man! I clapped my hands for delight, and called my master; and at once the god vanished, he and his serpents, into the temple. And, as you may fancy, they who lay near Plutus began to congratulate him, and they lay awake all night till day appeared."

Few problems are harder to those who want to realise Greek life than those offered by the plays of Aristophanes. We find it almost impossible to understand how the Athenians could one day delight in ridiculing the gods and their worship, and the next approach them as votaries. In the *Plutus* the passage describing the actual cure of Plutus sounds like the pious recital of a grateful

votary who had experienced the help of the god; but the background of the passage is one of jesting and indecency. It does not seem that Aristophanes intended to throw any doubt on the reality of the cures in the temple; he probably accepted the cultus of Asclepius as he did the other cults of Athens; his wit has no iconoclastic force, but only covers the images of the gods with Dionysiac ivy, making them like that ancient statue of Hermes described by Pausanias, which was invisible because of the myrtle boughs heaped about it.

In turning from Athens to Epidaurus, one is somewhat overwhelmed by the number of interesting vistas opened by that important site. It is a pity that no complete or consecutive account of the excavations carried on there by M. Kavvadias for the Greek Archaeological Society in the eighties has yet been published. Their details have to be extracted from the *Praktika* of the society, or from the pages of the Athenian *Ephemeris*. There has been found something for all Hellenic scholars. The theatre of Epidaurus is one of the most complete remaining to us, affording abundant material to the controversy now centering about the new views of Dörpfeld as to the arrangements of the Attic stage. To architects not only this theatre is interesting, but also the curious round building called the *Tholos* of Polycleitus. Of this the foundations, consisting of concentric circles of masonry, have come to light, besides many architectural fragments: but the purpose of the building still remains obscure; M. Kavvadias thinks that it was not a spring-house or reservoir. In the way of sculpture the recovered fragments of the pediments and acroteria of the temples of Asclepius and of Artemis offer much of importance. These sculptures, like the great statue of Asclepius in gold and ivory by Thrasymedes of Paros, which has of course disappeared, were

works of the early fourth century and show Athenian influence. We learn from an inscription discovered on the spot that models (τύποι) for the sculpture which adorned the temple of Asclepius were furnished by Timotheus, doubtless the same sculptor who worked with Scopas on the Mausoleum, and that he was paid 900 drachmas for them. The interesting figures of Amazons, Nereids, and other ideal beings made after the models of Timotheus are now ranged in a room in the central Museum at Athens; but since no casts from them have been taken they are not so widely known as they should be.

But perhaps the most important spoil of all consists in the inscriptions, which are early, numerous and of great length. Here as in Delos and on other sites we have recovered a considerable part of the archives of the temple, among other things the details of the cost of its construction, and several documents in regard to the worship of the great deity of Epidaurus. The last twenty years have brought us an astonishing amount of this kind of document, showing us whence the revenues of temples were derived, how they were administered, and in what way they were expended, how the offerings dedicated in them were placed, how repairs were from time to time executed, and the like. There is material of this kind to fill with the mere text several volumes, and even German industry has as yet by no means absorbed all the new data thus procured. As to us English, we shall probably wait until the results of discovery slowly filter down to us through new editions of German text-books.

Among the most striking results of the excavations has been the recovery of two inscriptions* of considerable length, giving details of many of the cures

* *Ephem. Arch.* 1883, p. 197, and 1885, p. 1.

wrought in the temple. To a modern physician these accounts would scarcely be of interest; but to those interested in Greek religion and antiquities this wreckage from the life of ancient Hellas has an importance of its own.

They are headed *Cures by Apollo and Asclepius.* Some of these cures we will detail, not quite in the order in which they are entered on the stones. We will begin with the least injured record.

Line 72. "*Case of a man,* who came to the god as a patient; he had but one eye; of the other only the empty eyelids remained. And some of those in the precinct said it was sheer folly for him to suppose that he could see, when he had no vestige of an eye, but only an empty socket. While he slept he saw a vision; it seemed to him that the god mixed a salve, and opening his eyelids poured it in. And when day broke he departed seeing with both eyes."

Line 120. "*Case of Alcetas of Halica.* He was blind, and saw a vision: he thought the god approached him, and with his fingers opened his eyes, so that he could see the trees in the precinct. And when day broke he departed cured."

Line 125. "*Case of Thyson of Hermione,* a blind boy. He being licked while awake by one of the temple-dogs on the eyes departed cured."

These temple-dogs were no less an institution at Epidaurus than the snakes of which Aristophanes speaks, and their tongue had as great healing power as the drugs of the god himself. We pass on from blindness to other diseases:

Line 68. "*Case of Euphanes,* a boy of Epidaurus. He went to sleep suffering from stone. And it seemed to him that the god stood by him and asked, 'What will you give me if I make you well?' And he answered

he would give ten knuckle-bones; at which the god laughed, and said he would ease him. And when day broke he departed cured."

Line 41. "*Case of a dumb boy.* He came to the precinct to ask a cure of his dumbness: when he had made the preliminary sacrifice and performed the rites, the slave of the god who carried the torch turning to the father of the boy said, 'Do you promise that if within a year he gains the end for which he came he will make the sacrifice of thanksgiving?' And the boy suddenly answered, 'I promise': the father in astonishment bade him say it again; and he said it again and thenceforward was cured."

In this case and in the next the cure seems to have been wrought without any special intervention of the god, by a mere force of healing which pervaded the whole place.

Line 111. "*Case of Nicanor*, a lame man. While he was sitting awake a boy snatched away his crutch and began to run off: he jumped up to pursue and was thenceforth cured."

Line 95. "*Case of Euippus.* He carried a spear-head six years in his jaw; when he was laid to sleep, the god extracted the spear-head and gave it into his hands. And when day broke he came forth cured carrying the spear-head in his hand."

Line 107. "*Case of Hermodicus of Lampsacus.* He was paralysed: sleeping he was cured by the god who bade him go out and bring into the precinct the biggest stone he could carry; so he brought in the stone which still lies before the hall."

The stone which still lies there: this must have been an answer quite irrefutable to the sceptics who doubted of the story: proof positive was before their eyes.

Line 113. "*Case of a man*, whose toe was cured by a

sacred snake. His toe was in pain from the bite of a wild beast: he was carried outside by day by the temple servants, and was sitting on a seat, when he fell asleep: and while he was asleep, a snake issued from the hall* and cured his toe with its tongue, after which it returned to the hall. He awaking cured said he had seen in a vision a beauteous youth pouring medicine on his toe."

But not all the cures wrought by the god were of wounds and grievous sicknesses; he condescended in some cases to cure indispositions which we are accustomed to bear with philosophy; and others in which imagination seems to have had no small share.

Line 122. "*Case of Heraeeus of Mytilene.* He had no hair on his head, but a good crop on his chin: being ashamed of being a laughing-stock to his companions he came to sleep in the hall: and the god anointed his head with salve, and made the hair come."

Line 98. "*Case of the Toronaean who was cured of leeches.* He slept in the hall and saw a vision; he thought the god cut open his chest with a knife, and taking out the leeches gave them into his hands, and sewed up his chest again. When day broke he departed carrying the creatures in his hands, and was cured. He had swallowed them in consequence of a step-mother's trick, who had put them into a potion which he swallowed."

Line 3. "*Case of Cleo,* who went with child five years. She in the fifth year of pregnancy came to seek the aid of the god and went to sleep in the hall: and no sooner did she come forth from it and pass outside the precinct† than she gave birth to a son, who directly after birth

* ἄβατον, here rendered hall, was not the temple of the god, but the chamber where suppliants slept: ἱερόν is the sacred precinct, containing this hall, the temple, ναός, and the dedicated tablets.

† Of course a delivery within the precinct would have polluted it.

washed himself at the spring, and began to walk about with his mother. And after meeting these fortunes she wrote up on a votive tablet, 'Not the size of the picture but the miracle is the marvel, that Cleo bore the burden in her womb for five years, till she slept here and the god made her whole.'"

Certainly these cures were of a remarkable kind, and the moral of them was, from the point of view of the priesthood, quite unexceptionable. But the cures which follow have a moral bearing which lies still more conspicuously on the face of them, showing the great danger of doubting the power of the god, or of defrauding him of his revenues.

Line 22. "*Case of a man* whose fingers were paralysed all but one. He came to the god to seek aid; but looking round at the votive tablets of the precinct he was doubtful about the cures and began to ridicule the inscriptions. He slept in the hall and saw a vision; he thought that as he was playing with astragali close to the temple, and was going to make a cast, the god appeared and seemed to seize his hand and stretch out the fingers of it. And when he went away, he thought he clenched his hand and then extended the fingers one by one, and when he had extended them all, the god asked him if he was still sceptical as to the inscriptions on the votive-tablets in the temple; and he replied that he was not."

Line 33. "*Case of Ambrosia from Athens* who had but one eye. She came to seek aid of the god; and walking round the precinct, began to ridicule some of the cures, saying it was absurd and impossible that the lame and the blind should become whole merely through seeing a vision. And sleeping she saw a vision; she thought the god stood by her and said that he would make her whole, but she must for payment dedicate in the precinct a pig of silver, as a memorial of her folly. And with these

words the god cut open her diseased eye and poured a drug in. And when day broke she went away healed."

Line 48. "*Case of Pandarus of Thessaly*, who had marks (stigmata) on his forehead. He slept and had a vision; he thought the god tied a bandage over his stigmata, and bade him when he had passed out of the hall to take off the bandage and dedicate it in the temple. And when day broke he arose and took off the bandage, and found his forehead healed of the stigmata, and dedicated the bandage in the temple."

Line 54. "*Case of Echedorus*, who received on his forehead the stigmata of Pandarus, in addition to those he had before. He had received of Pandarus money to dedicate to the god at Epidaurus on behalf of Pandarus himself. Sleeping, he saw a vision. He thought the god stood by him and asked him whether he had any money from Pandarus to dedicate as an offering in the precinct; he answered that he had not received anything of the kind from Pandarus, but that if the god would make him whole he would have a picture painted and dedicate it; and after that the god bound round the stigmata on his head the bandage of Pandarus, and bade him when he departed from the temple take off the bandage and wash his face in the spring and look into the water. When day broke he came out of the temple and removed the bandage. It had no marks; and when he looked into the water he saw that his face, in addition to its previous stigmata, had acquired those of Pandarus."

Truly an unimpeachable moral! and scarcely less sound is the moral of the following cures:—

Line 90. "*Case of Aeschines.* When the suppliants were laid down to sleep, he mounted into a tree and pried into the hall; and he fell from the tree and struck his eyes on some palings. Being in an evil case and

having become blind, he turned as a suppliant to the god; and he slept and became whole."

Line 79. "*Case of the earthen vessel.* A porter on the way to the precinct, about ten furlongs off, fell down; he rose and opened his bag and examined the shattered vessels. When he found that the cup out of which his master was used to drink was broken, he was much grieved, and sitting down tried to fit the pieces together. Now a wayfarer saw him and said, 'Why, unfortunate, do you try in vain to put the cup together? not even Asclepius who dwells at Epidaurus could make it whole.' Hearing this the slave replaced the fragments in the bag, and came to the precinct; and when he arrived, he opened the bag and took out the cup which had become whole. Then he told his master all that had been done and said; and when he heard he dedicated the cup to the god."

And in the temple of the god no doubt it remained, with the marks of its fracture upon it, to silence for all time the sceptics and to prove that Asclepius could mend not only the bodies of the sick, but broken earthenware too.

We may add two cures from the worse preserved of the two stones, because they preserve the peculiarity that sometimes the actual presence of the votary was dispensed with, and he was represented by a friend.

Line 19. "*Case of Aristocritus of Halica** amid the rocks. He dived and swam out to sea and came to a dry piece of ground surrounded by rocks, out of which he could find no way of escape. Presently his father, when he could not find him by searching everywhere,

* *Ephem. Arch.* 1885, p. 1. The reading and rendering of the first few lines of the case of Aristocritus is doubtful. I omit the word δενδρυων, which has no intelligible meaning, in my rendering. I suppose that Aristocritus swam out to sea, and returning exhausted found himself on a strip of beach whence he could not climb the cliff.

came to Asclepius and slept in the hall on behalf of his son. He saw a vision; the god seemed to lead him to a place, and showed him that his son was there. He came out of the precinct, and cutting through the rock found his son who had been there six days."

Line 1. "*Case of Arata, a Spartan girl sick with dropsy.* Her mother slept on her account in the precinct, she remaining at Lacedaemon. The mother saw a vision; she thought the god cut off her daughter's head and hung up her body neck downwards, and when enough water had run out, took down the body and restored the head to the neck. After seeing this vision she returned to Lacedaemon and found that her daughter had recovered after seeing the same vision."

The mixture in this and other cases of operation and vision, fact and fancy, is very suggestive. In this case the cutting off of the head is a dream, in other cases it is spoken of as a fact.

Such are these extraordinary documents, which it will be well to examine in various points of view, to ascertain more exactly their character. As to the period at which they were drawn up we can be in no uncertainty. The character of the writing, clear and regular, points to the fourth or the early part of the third century. Then doubtless they were set up, and so remained for centuries. Pausanias in the Antonine age thus writes*: "There stand tablets in the sacred enclosure, of which six remain in our time, but formerly there were more, on which are recorded the names of men and women who were healed by Asclepius, also the disease of each and the manner of cure. They are in the Doric dialect." Of late years it has become not unusual in Germany to speak with more than distrust of the testimony of Pausanias, and even to suggest that he made up his Periegesis by the aid of old catalogues

* Paus. ii. 27, 3.

and guide-books. The phrase of Pausanias which I have quoted bears an impress of trustworthiness. But there is a further fact pointing in the same direction which carries more conviction.* In another passage† the Traveller mentions a small place in Argolis called Halica in the following terms: "Halica is deserted in our days, but it was formerly inhabited, and is mentioned in the stelae at Epidaurus, in which are recorded the cures of the temple of Asclepius: I know no other mention of Halica or its inhabitants." As a matter of fact Halica is mentioned thrice in the inscriptions before us. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Pausanias saw with his own eyes the name of Halica on the tablets and made a note of it on the spot, although it is of course within the bounds of possibility that in this case too he is merely quoting an old guide-book.

We are by no means justified in supposing that all or most of the cures recorded in our tablets were of the same period as the tablets themselves. We can in fact point out on the second stele of Epidaurus a case in which a cure is certainly written down from tradition. We read on it the tale of a woman named Aristagora of Methana, who was cured in somewhat blundering fashion of a taenia or tape-worm of monstrous size. She went to the temple of the god at Troezen; and the god being away at Epidaurus his servants tried to cure the woman by taking off her head and rummaging in her intestines for the monster. It was captured, but the servants were unable to put the head on again until the deity returned from Epidaurus. Now we have an exactly similar story,‡ evidently its prototype, in the fragments of Hippys, a writer of the age of the Persian wars, that is, at a period two centuries before the stele was engraved. It is evident then that some of the stories of Epidaurus were mellow

* See Kavvadias, *l. c.* † Paus. ii. 36, 1. ‡ Girard, *op. c.*, p. 29.

with age. And it seems that they improved with keeping. In the tale as told by Hippys the scene is Epidaurus. But the tale reflects small credit on a shrine from which the deity was absent and in which the temple-servants were blunderers. So in the Epidaurian record the scene is shifted to the neighbouring and rival Troezen, and the failure of the ministers is said to have been due to the circumstance that the god was absent at Epidaurus. The hand of the fraudulently pious redactor is in this case only too evident.

In later times of Roman Dominion, though the fame of the deity did not decline, yet the simplicity of the faith of his votaries seems to have done so. We no longer read of Asclepius curing with a touch or by the tongue of a sacred dog or snake: he seems mainly to confine himself to giving prescriptions either directly to his votaries in dreams, or by the mouth of his priests. "To one man," writes the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, "Asclepius prescribes horse-exercise, to another cold baths, to another bareness of feet." We have an extraordinary variety of these divine prescriptions in the Ἱερῶν λόγοι of the valetudinarian Aelius Aristides, who was devoted to Asclepius, and whose pilgrimages to the shrines of the god have helped considerably to extend our knowledge of the geography of Asia Minor. In this matter also we gain much information from inscriptions. An inscription from Epidaurus of the Antonine age* doubtless a votive tablet, records thus the visions of a votary: "I, Marcus Julius Apellas of Mylasa was sent for by the god, often falling sick and having chronic dyspepsia; on the voyage, in Aegina, he bade me abstain from the passion of anger: and when I was in the

* *Ephem. Arch.*, 1883, p. 230. The name of the eponymous priest mentioned in the inscription, P. Aelius Antiochus, indicates its date clearly.

temple he bade me cover my head for two days during which there were showers, to take bread and cheese at the beginning of a meal (or before bathing) and parsley with lettuce, to bathe without attendance, to practise running . . . . to take walks upstairs in the open air, to go barefoot before entering the warm water in the bath-room, to pour wine over myself, to bathe alone, and give an Attic drachm to the bathing man, to drink honey with milk. And one day when I was drinking milk alone, he said to me 'put in honey:'" and so on: but we will no longer follow the maunderings of this tedious patient. It seems, however, clear from this testimony and that of Marcus Aurelius, that in Roman times the god of Epidaurus went on the hardening system, and believed greatly in cold baths and naked feet and exercise. The opposite system that the road to health lies through tending and cosseting oneself, was not much in vogue; Asclepius fancied that exposure and hardness led to vigour and longevity.

I will cite but one more inscription, which comes from the shrine of Aesculapius in the Insula Tiberina at Rome.* It is of very late times, and one seems in reading it to be already approaching the middle-ages with their external devotion and ready credulity for the miraculous. "Gaius, a blind man, the god ordered to come to the sacred *βῆμα* and kneel; then to go from right to left, and place his five fingers on the bema; then to raise his hand and place it on his eyes; and at once he saw, a crowd standing by." "To Julian, who spat blood and was given up, the god recommended to take the seeds of pine cones from the altar and eat them with honey for three days: and he was cured, and came and gave the god thanks in the presence of the people." "To Valerius Aper, blind, he prescribed

* *C. I.* 5980.

that he should take the blood of a white cock with honey for an eye-salve, and anoint his eyes with it three days: he did so and recovered."

These cases are unlike those of Epidaurus either of the earlier or later age, inasmuch as the element of faith-healing is more conspicuous. The god does not as in the earlier records effect the cure himself, nor does he recommend any course of action in itself healthful, but he merely ordains some ceremonial observance, on doing which recovery follows. Asclepius appears in these cases like a thaumaturge such as Sabazius and Mithras, those strange figures of late Greek superstition. And in fact, as we know from many records, in late times Asclepius did become, like those barbarous Oriental figures, a sort of mystic saver and preserver. Then it was not from disease only that he saved men, but from battle and murder, from shipwreck and disaster. And this character he seems to have retained until his place was gradually taken by Christian saints and martyrs, whose relics proved no less efficacious than dreams sent by the physician-god or than the tongue of the sacred snakes.

CHAPTER XIII.

ELEUSIS AND THE MYSTERIES.

As no branch of Greek religious usage is more worthy of study than the Mysteries of Eleusis, so scarcely any presents greater difficulties to the investigator. The ancients, it is notorious, threatened with heavy penalties those who should divulge any secret connected with the Mysteries; therefore the ancient writers tell us but little of them, nor do inscriptions and works of art do very much towards filling up the blank. And the little information which reaches us by means of stray hints of writers of classical times, or the violent polemical treatises of early Christian fathers and Pagan writers of the decline, has been greatly distorted by modern authors who cannot in this matter lay aside the odium theologicum. This theological bias acts in entirely opposite directions according to the character of the writer. Leaving aside the prejudice of those who like Warburton supposed the Greek mystic rites to retain scraps of a primitive revelation made to mankind in ancient days, a theory now entirely out of date, we shall find other disturbing preoccupations. Some modern writers inclined to rationalism are much predisposed to imagine that something far higher and nobler than ordinary Greek polytheism was taught to those initiated at Eleusis and Samothrace, that doctrines such as the unity of God and the high

destinies of the human soul were there made known to the votaries; while on the other hand strong partisans of revealed as opposed to natural religion have declined to credit the inner doctrines of Paganism with noble thoughts or lofty aspirations, and have revolted, like the Fathers of the Christian Church, against the crude imagery and obscene-sounding myths connected with the Eleusinian festival.

The learned and critical work of Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, published some half century ago, finally disposed of the views of those who would see in the Mysteries a great repository of religious truth laid up there as in an ark of safety; but on the other hand this writer carries his negations too far and forgets that it is not fair to judge of the inner value of religious ceremonies from their outward show. We want to know not only what took place at Eleusis but what the mystae thought and felt, and this is lost beyond recovery. But we have more materials than had Lobeck. His material was gathered almost entirely from the statements of early Christian writers who attacked, and their Pagan opponents who defended, the Eleusinian rites. We now possess two or three important inscriptions which relate to them.* The testimony of vases has also some weight. And much truth has been fairly sifted out by the careful labours of scholars skilled in the critical methods of modern times; in particular by Preller and August Mommsen in Germany, and Guigniaut and F. Lenormant in France, who have succeeded in dispelling many illusions and representing the subject, not indeed in detail, but in broad masses of light and shade. The excavations at Eleusis, too, begun by the English Society of Dilettanti, continued by the French School of Athens, and recently com-

* Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, 384–387. See also the important inscription from Andania, published by Sauppe.

pleted in a far more thorough way by the Archaeological Society of Athens, have furnished many important facts, and are likely to add greatly to our knowledge.

Finally there are three valuable papers on the Eleusinian Mysteries contributed to the *Contemporary Review* (1880) by François Lenormant, and not only written with the accustomed brilliancy of that lamented writer, but also marked by care and more than his usual accuracy, though on the whole it must be allowed that Lenormant, a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church, has allowed himself to take too low a view of the teaching of Eleusis. But he writes on this subject with much learning, and his account is in part based on his own studies and excavations at Eleusis.

If prayers and sacrifices were the ordinary ritual of the Greeks, and purifications and the like their special services, the Mysteries were their sacraments; and in fact, as we shall see, they bore in many respects a rather close likeness to the most solemn rites of the Latin and Greek Churches.

Although the mysteries at Eleusis outshone all those of Greece in importance and splendour, yet we must by no means suppose that they had no rivals. At Pheneus in Arcadia, at Andania in Messenia, and in a number of other places, there were mysteries of considerable notoriety; mysterious rites are constantly mentioned in the pages of Pausanias; in fact it is probable that few considerable Greek cities were altogether without some such institution. And it should be observed that these mysteries are connected in almost every case, not only with Chthonic deities, but also with such cults as properly belonged to the primitive inhabitants of Greek lands, notably the Pelasgi. Demeter, to whom in most cases they appertained, was the great earth-

goddess of the Pelasgic race. And this fact may at once suggest to us an explanation of the origin of secret rites, an explanation which is, I believe, generally accepted as accounting for the existence of various secret and mysterious rites among many semi-barbarous races. When a conquering race sweeps over a country, the conquered make a desperate effort to retain their deities and religious observances. But they dare not openly practice their accustomed rites; the intolerance of their masters might then put an end to them; or, what would still more terrify the barbarous imagination, the conquering race might imitate the religious practices, and so win over to themselves the last and dearest possession of the vanquished, their deities. Hence the necessity for secret observances handed down privately from father to son. Some accident might easily cause peculiar fame and reputation to attach to one of these secret cults, and in that case its very secretness would tend greatly to add to its renown, until strangers sought as a great favour that they might be admitted to witness the traditional celebrations. Then the cultus from being famous might gradually become worthy of fame; and when race-distinctions of conqueror and conquered were forgotten at the place to which it belonged, it might become civic or even national, and yet never lose the character of secrecy by that time deeply impressed on its very nature.

The local tradition at Eleusis assigned the origin of the mysteries there to Eumolpus, one of the traditional Thracian seers and poets who were supposed to have so largely influenced Greek religious thought. And this may suggest the question whether they were not influenced from Phrygia, where dwelt a people kindred to the Thracian, and distinguished among the races of antiquity by their devotion to great Chthonic goddesses.

This view is advocated by Mr Ramsay in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Mysteries). In that case they would exhibit a fragment of the religion of Asia Minor adopted and purified by the Athenians. The ancients, however, are very explicit in their statements that there was at Eleusis, from very early times, a secret cultus belonging to Pelasgians. To trace fully the growth of this cultus from stage to stage, until from an obscure local worship it became one celebrated throughout the civilised world, is not part of the plan of this chapter, nor would it be possible in the absence of ancient testimony. The cause of that growth was without doubt the close connection of Eleusis with Athens, and the adoption by the latter city of Eleusinian beliefs and legends. M. Lenormant considers that we can trace three successive periods in the history of the Eleusinian mysteries. The first is represented by the Homeric hymn to Demeter, and during its continuance the ceremonies were altogether of a commemorative kind. The abduction of Cora, the wanderings and grief of her mother, the interference of the higher powers, and finally the partial restoration of the lost child were all brought before the eyes of the initiated; and at the same time it is likely that these scenes were explained as relating to the hiding of seed in the earth and its rising in spring, phenomena the explanation of which occupies much of the religious thought of many primitive peoples. The name of Iacchus does not occur in the hymn, and its omission has been variously explained. But it is only in the second period of Eleusinian history that Iacchus takes an important place. This period begins early indeed, but subsequently to the Homeric hymn. In it we trace the gradual intrusion of orgiastic and Dionysiac rites, Iacchus being identified with Bacchus, and that deity taking his place at Eleusis as husband or as son of

Persephone. The third period may begin about the time of Alexander the Great, and is marked by the adoption at Eleusis, under the influence of the school of religion called by the name of Orpheus, of the strange Cretan legend of Zagreus, and the Oriental rites which belong to that deity, the Chthonic Dionysus. These are the rites which caused so much scandal in Greece, and which, when they spread into Campania, were put down by the strong hand of the Roman Republic. Not that the Eleusinian rites ever became really licentious or indecent; their close connection with all that was respectable at Athens saved them from that. But the cultus of Zagreus found a home at Eleusis, and his legend was closely connected with that of the great goddesses. Only it was explained away in spiritual and non-natural fashion, and was even made edifying by having put into it the promise of future life beyond the grave. We might perhaps distinguish a fourth period, when neo-Platonic philosophers were hierophantae, and the doctrines of Eleusis were developed by the Pagans as a parallel and counterpoise to those of the Christian church.

In the mysteries of Eleusis four acts were distinguished—(1) *κάθαρσις*, the preliminary purification, (2) *σύστασις*, the rites and sacrifices which preceded and prepared the way for the actual celebration, (3) *τελετή* or *μύησις*, the initiation properly so called, and (4) *ἐποπτεία*, the last and highest grade of initiation, between which and the *μύησις* an interval of a year was required in the case of each mystes. The last two of these stages alone were of private and mysterious nature; at the first two the whole populace assisted freely. The whole festival was protected by a sacred truce,* proclaimed like that

* Dittenberger, *Syll.* No. 384. *Br. Mus. Inscr.*, No. 2. The duration of the truce was from the middle of Metageitnion, including all Boedromion, and until the 10th of Pyanepsion.

in connection with the Olympian festival by public heralds. During the earlier part of the Peloponnesian war the Spartans respected this truce; but after the renewal of hostilities and the occupation of Deceleia they stopped for many years the procession of mystae to Eleusis.

We learn from an inscription * of the age of Hadrian, that every autumn on the 13th of Boedromion the Ephebi of Athens were marshalled, and went in procession to Eleusis in order to escort thence on the 14th in solemn procession certain sacred objects, *τὰ ἱερά*, which were required for the procession from Athens to Eleusis, which at that age took place on the 19th of Boedromion.

The first day of the Eleusinia fell on the 15th of Boedromion. It was called the assembling, *ἀγυρμός*, because on it the mystae assembled in groups, each under the direction and guidance of a mystagogus. At the Stoa Poecile they received a sort of address from the officials; the King-archon first ordering those to withdraw who were stained by crime or ignominy or otherwise unworthy of admission, and the hierophant next proclaiming the conditions required of those who desired to be initiated, and enjoining purity both inward and outward on all. And the sacred herald impressed on the assembled votaries the duty of absolute secrecy as to all that they might witness, and bade them be silent throughout, and not even utter exclamations.

The second day of the mysteries, the 16th of Boedromion, was that called *ἅλαδε μύσται*, "Mystae to the sea," because on it the candidates for initiation purified alike themselves and the young pig, which was the regular victim of the goddesses, in the salt waters of the sea, or perhaps, as M. Lenormant maintains, in the

* Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 387.

salt water of the two lakes called Rheiti on the Sacred Way.

These days were not at Athens holidays except for the mystae. But the 17th of Boedromion was kept as a holiday generally. On it there were solemn state sacrifices in the Eleusinium at Athens; and each of the mystae offered the sacred pig required from him. On the 18th also there was a continuation of sacrifices and offerings to the two goddesses.

The grand procession of the mystae from Athens to Eleusis is spoken of by the writers* as happening on the 20th of the month. The inscription already cited assigns it to the 19th. Possibly by the time of Hadrian the day had been changed, or it may be, as Dittenberger suggests, that as the procession did not reach Eleusis until after sunset on the 19th, it was reckoned as belonging to the 20th. It bore the name of Iacchus, because in it the statue of Iacchus was borne from Athens to Eleusis, escorted by the Ephebi and followed by the crowd of the mystae, each bearing a lighted torch. The march was ordered by the Iacchagogus; the statue was attended by two priestesses, and followed by bearers, who carried the cradle and the playthings of the infant deity. The procession kept up a constant singing of hymns, of which we may form some idea from the imitations of them in the *Frogs;* at each of the shrines on the Sacred Way it stopped to make sacrifices and libations, to sing hymns and perform sacred dances. Naturally it moved but slowly, and, though starting at daybreak, did not reach Eleusis till late at night. Reaching the spot, the mystae found some shelter or encampment to protect them from the weather during their stay at Eleusis.

Existing materials enable us to discover what the

* Euripides, *Ion*, l. 1076, &c.

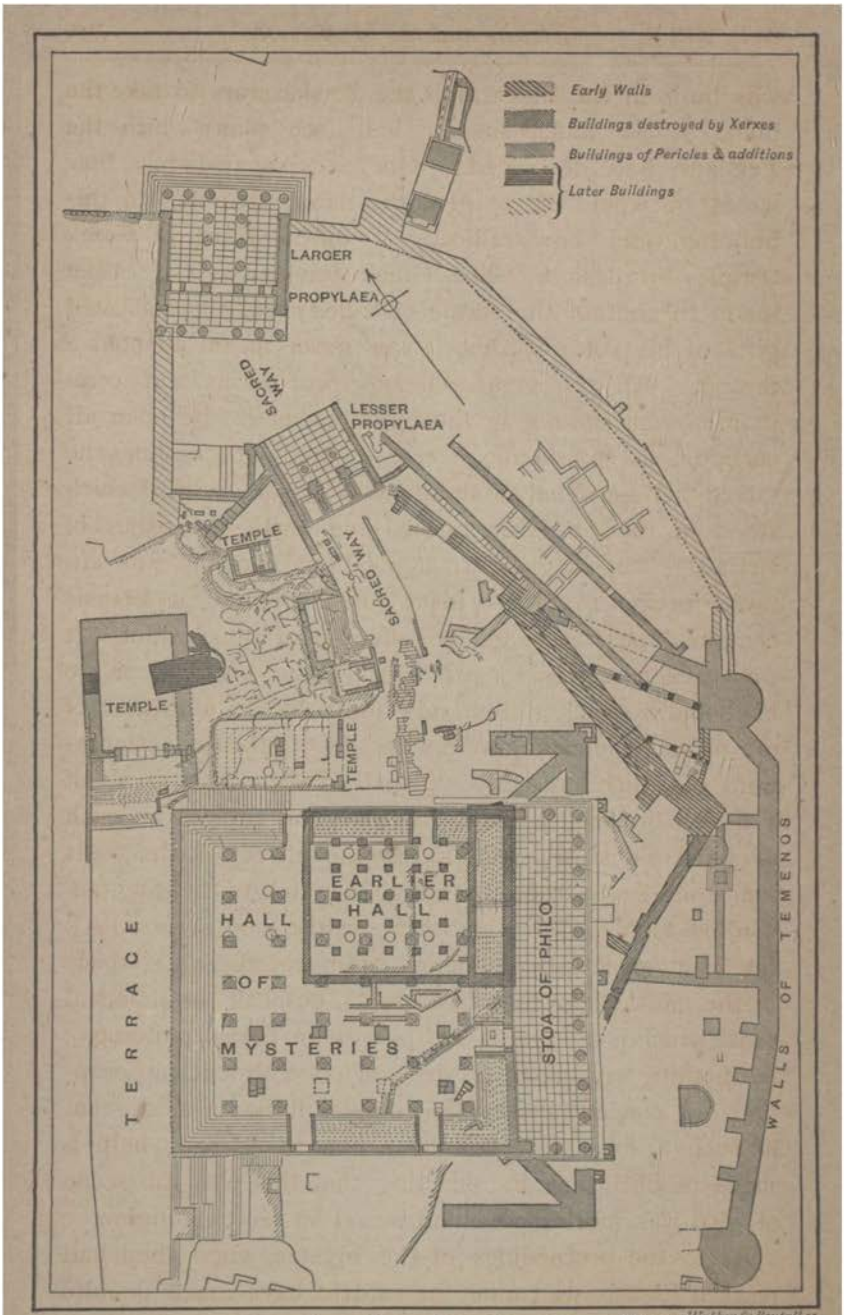
temenos at Eleusis, which was the scene of the mysteries, was like. Thrice have excavations taken place on the spot. In 1806 the Society of Dilettanti made some small excavations;* but the whole site being then occupied by a modern village, they were unable to bring their attempt to any satisfactory issue; and most of their conclusions have been set aside by further evidence. Next, in 1860, M. Fr. Lenormant, then attached to the French School of Athens, made some excavations and laid bare the design of the Propylaea; but the talents of that brilliant but hasty generalizer were unsuited to the slow labours of excavation, and not much solid gain accrued. Since 1882 the Athenian Archaeological Society has set to work in a most methodical way to lay bare the whole plan of the great σηκός, or mystical assembly hall, after removing the whole of the modern village which occupied the ground. The πρακτικά of that society for 1882–1885 contain plans and details showing what progress has been made.† The plan which accompanies this paper is taken from Dr. Doerpfeld's plan in the official guide to Eleusis of 1889 (see next page).

We cannot here attempt any complete exposition of the site with its remains of early, later, and Roman buildings. Some of the most interesting places, such as the "joyless rock" and the well Callichoron have not yet been identified. But the main features of the site are clear, and in particular the great hall of initiation can be studied in detail, and it is to that in the main that our attention must be directed.

The remains, as they stand, are mostly of the Roman age. But nevertheless it is probably fair to regard them as giving us the general plan of the great hall which

* A plan, representing the views of the Dilettanti, will be found in Leake's *Attica*.

† See also *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1884, p. 65.



PLAN OF ELEUSIS.

was built in the times after the Persian wars to take the place of the much smaller hall (see plan) which the Persians had destroyed. One sees immediately how wrong it would be to give the name "temple" to this building, and how radically it differs from all Greek temples in design. The Greek temple was a casket made to contain the statue of a deity and the dedicated gifts of his votaries; but it was never meant to hold a throng. All the great religious processions and ceremonies went on, not in the temples, but in the open air outside. Even sacrifices were offered not within the sacred buildings but at the great altars of sacrifice which stood in the open air, heaped high with the ashes of victims. Anything like congregational worship was entirely foreign to Greek ideas. But the hall at Eleusis contained no statue, and no offerings of the faithful. It was meant merely for use during the celebrations, to hold and to shelter from rain and cold the multitude of the mystae while they were witnessing the sacred celebrations, of which presently we shall speak. It was about 170 feet in length and in breadth, and entered on each of three sides by two doors, while all round the walls ran stone seats eight tiers high, capable of holding, according to Mr. Philios' estimate, nearly 3000 sitters. All the arrangements, the numerous entrances, the great space in the midst, the well-ordered seats, bespeak the practical sense which is always so conspicuous in Greek buildings; but nothing savours of mystery, of concealment, or deception. A concert, a reception, an exhibition would seem in such a hall most suitable; but we cannot help a shade of disillusion in reflecting that this was the scene of what was most sacred and secret in Greek religion.

As to the proceedings of the mystae, when they had reached Eleusis, we cannot be said to have much definite knowledge. In the papers above cited, M. Lenormant

works out for them a time-table almost as complete as those set before the members of a modern scientific congress. And he may not be far from the truth in many of his conjectures. We however shall prefer to proceed on safer lines and with more caution. In fact we can better judge of what happened in the sacred precinct than of the order in which it happened.

During the day-time the mystae fasted, breaking their fast, as the Mohammedans do in our time, at sunset. And as most of the sacred ceremonies went on at night, we must suppose that the day was mostly spent in sleep, or in prostration resulting from the excitements of the night. Amid the nightly celebrations we can distinguish certain interesting ceremonies.

First the initiated had to rouse in themselves a feeling of sympathy with Demeter in her passion. They imitated the sad wanderings of the goddess who roamed, torch in hand, along the shore of Eleusis; and we are told that the lights which they bore looked from a distance like a swarm of fire-flies on the shore of the bay. They sat like their sorrowing goddess on the "joyless rock," and tried to imagine that from them also the sweet Persephone had been snatched away. Amid so many mystae some must have suffered the loss of their own children, and at least to them the feeling that such loss was not unknown even to the immortal gods, and perhaps might be like the absence of Persephone only temporary, must have sometimes come as a strong consolation.

Secondly, there was certainly a sacrament of eating and drinking. After a nine days' fast Demeter had been induced by the persuasive drolleries of Iambe or Baubo to partake of food and drink, and to change the harshness of despair for less passionate grief. The votaries of Demeter also broke their fast by eating from a sacred vessel and drinking a draught called the κυκεών

made of meal and water. They also handled certain sacred objects; transferring them from basket to box, or from box to basket, according to a fixed ritual. Of course such ceremonies are no surprise to the anthropologist, who knows that in all religions some of the most solemn ceremonies are connected with eating and drinking in common.

Thirdly, it may be regarded as certain that the crowning and consummation of the whole celebration at Eleusis consisted in certain representations of a dramatic character, mysteries or miracle plays, which were acted in the sacred meeting-hall, and which contained the revelations to be made to the initiated.

But we must begin by dismissing as fanciful and unfounded a great deal of modern conjecture on this subject. Some modern writers have taxed their ingenuity to imagine such noble revelations as should correspond to what they think the Eleusinia ought to be. They have pictured to themselves elaborate ceremonies, and carefully planned stage effects. And it must be confessed that they are not without the support of some ancient authorities, who however belong to the last periods of Greek literature. For example, the orator Themistius, who lived in the fourth century, writes of the mystae: "They wander about at first; they enter on wearisome deviations; they walk about full of suspicion and uncertainty in the darkness; and the nearer they approach to the goal, the more terrible everything becomes; there is nothing but trembling, shuddering, sweating and stupor. Then a marvellous light falls on them, and they enter pure places and meadows, and hear voices, and see dances, and witness majestic utterances and sacred forms." It is perhaps not strange that some writers should have supposed, on the strength of such passages as this, that the mystae on their way to the hall

of assembly passed through long underground passages, and wandered far in the darkness. And the opinion has been widely diffused, though based on slight authority, that in these wanderings there were displayed before them the terrors of Tartarus, dreadful sights and sounds, in sharp contrast to the delights of Elysium supposed to be revealed in the hall itself. This view must be considered as finally disposed of by the evidence of excavation, which has proved that the underground passages which the Dilettanti supposed themselves to have discovered never existed. The darkling walk which was said to be so full of terrors and uncertainties could only be the walk from the propylaea to the gates of the hall. But we must remember that after their daily fast the votaries would be worked up to a pitch of excitement. Their expectation would be raised to the highest point. And the nights were planned by the Attic calendar so as to fall when there was no moon. The mystae might therefore be very ready to imagine more than they saw.

But what happened when at last the door of the hall was opened, and the torch-bearer appeared with his torch to lead the mystae into the sacred place? Then at all events, it may be thought, strange sights and sounds would be met. The simple answer is that at Eleusis there was no provision for the production of strange stage-effects. Never at any time was there on the shallow stage of a Greek theatre any room for those elaborate effects in which modern stage-managers delight. All was simplicity and convention. But at Eleusis there was not even a stage. The people sat tier above tier all round the building, and whatever went on had to go on in their midst. If they were dazzled by strange sights, these sights must have been very simply contrived. If they saw gods descending from the sky or rising from the

ground, they must have been willing to spread round the very primitive machinery by which such ascents and descents would be accomplished an imaginative halo of their own.

In the midst of the crowd the hierophant and his colleagues displayed certain sights and uttered certain sounds which the people received with trembling veneration, and filled with a meaning perhaps out of proportion to the actual phenomena.

It is the opinion of Lenormant that on successive nights there were acted two separate miracle plays, in which the parts were taken by the officers of the Eleusinia. On the first night the whole story of Demeter and Cora, as related in the Homeric hymn, was brought on the stage. "Eleusis," says Clement* of Alexandria, "illustrates, by the light of the torches of the δᾳδοῦχος, the abduction of Cora, the wandering journeys and the grief of Deo." The descent into Hades was part of the play, and it is possible that advantage may have been taken of this circumstance to give instructive pictures of the future world, both of the bliss of the virtuous and the punishments of the wicked. Other episodes of a less instructive nature, such as that of Baubo, were also introduced, and it is hard to see how they can have presented any but an indecent character. After the long wanderings and griefs of the mother had been played out, with the details of her sojourn at Eleusis, there followed the return of Cora, possibly bringing with her, as Stephani and Lenormant maintain,† the young Iacchus as the fruit of her marriage and her sojourn in the realm of shades. The testimony of a number of vases and other monuments, in the representations on which Triptolemus plays a conspicuous part in con-

* *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 12 (ed. Potter).

† But the vases on which Stephani relied are now interpreted as referring to other myths. See Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 179.

nection with Demeter and her daughter, seems to indicate that the first night's drama did not end there, but went on to display the civilizing and beneficial mission of Triptolemus, conveying to all lands the knowledge of the sowing and reaping of corn. On the vases* we commonly see Triptolemus setting out on his sacred mission, while mother and daughter stand by to sanction his enterprise; and sometimes Eleusis in person assists under the guise of a local nymph.

The sacred drama of Demeter and Cora constituted the *μύησις* proper. But there was a further degree of revelation called *ἐποπτεία*. Lenormant argues that this was imparted in a second drama, exhibited on the remaining night of the ceremonies; and further that the subject of this second drama was the well-known Orphic myth of the birth and death of Zagreus, the Chthonic Dionysus. We need not here repeat the story, which may be found in dictionaries and works on Greek mythology, and which is of a peculiarly offensive kind, unless interpreted, as the Orphists did interpret it, in an altogether fanciful and symbolical manner. Zagreus, it will be remembered, was the son of Persephone by Zeus, who was slain by the Titans, and his body buried at Delphi, all but the heart, which was carried to Olympus by Pallas. If this view as to the formal incorporation of Orphism in the Eleusinia be true, Zagreus must have been accepted as identical with the local Iacchus. And it must rank as an objection to it that the accepted Eleusinian myth gives a different paternity and history to Iacchus; but we can scarcely be sure that an inconsistency of this kind would weigh greatly with the members of a priestly house. And it is certain that early Christian writers mix up in the same sentence the

* For Triptolemus in vases with Eleusinian subject, see pls. xv., xvi. of the Atlas to Overbeck's magnificent *Kunstmythologie*.

mysteries of Eleusis and those of Orpheus. Also it is easy to see how the story of Zagreus could be used, as was the closely parallel story of Osiris in Egypt, to illustrate and enforce that doctrine of the future existence of the soul which seems certainly to have been inculcated at Eleusis. We are therefore inclined rather to agree with Lenormant than with Lobeck, who energetically denies that the Orphic myth ever found a home at Eleusis.

The last formal act of the mysteries seems to us simple enough, though it was certainly regarded as no unimportant part of the whole. The mystae filled with water two vessels which bore the special name of plemochoae, and emptied them in libation, turning to east and west, and repeating the mystic words ὗε, κύε. The first was directed to the sky and was a prayer for rain, the second to the earth, as a prayer for fertility. These simple words are probably part of the oldest Eleusinian ritual, and show the original character of the whole festival to have been a religious service of prayer that the corn-sowing might lead to a fair harvest.

By the 24th of Boedromion the secret parts of the mysteries were over; the festival again became of a public nature, and all Athens again kept holiday. Then they celebrated the games called Eleusinia, one of the most important of Athenian *agones*, the prize wherein consisted of a measure of barley, reaped probably in the sacred Rharian plain. The games grew in duration as time went on; at first only occupying one day, they at last absorbed quite four. An important part of them was the representation of tragedies in the theatre of Eleusis. We learn that at one time the plays of Aeschylus were by preference selected on account of their religious character; in the Macedonian age the Dionysiac artists resorted to Eleusis, and for two or three days furnished amusement to the mystae and their visitors.

The return to Athens, like the setting out thence, took place in solemn procession, the priests joining the cortège. At one part at least of its progress the pomp must have relapsed into disorder and clamour. For the people of Athens went out with masks on their faces to meet the returning mystae; and received them at the bridge over the Cephissus* with jests and banter. The mystae replied, and a contest ensued of wit or of scurrility, in which each tried to surpass the other. Such mixtures of jest and religion do not shock the feelings of natives of southern Europe.

There is no good ground for the supposition that the Eleusinian priests communicated to the people some theology above the common, some mystic doctrine preserved in the archives of Eleusis and handed down from age to age. There were rites and representations of a symbolic character, well adapted, no doubt, to act upon the nerves and imaginations of those present. These scenes brought men nearer to the gods, and caused a thrill of sympathy with the feelings of the deities to pass through human bosoms; but they did not instruct the intellect, still less impart any cosmologic or theogonic system. Even the sentences which, as we learn, the actors in the divine dramas threw out from time to time were full of fancy and mysticism rather than of sober meaning. "Aristotle," says Synesius,† "is of opinion that the initiated learned nothing precisely, but that they received impressions, that they were put into a certain frame of mind!" We can scarcely do better in such a matter than adhere to the opinion of Aristotle.

* Our authorities do not make it clear whether this jesting at the bridge belonged to the setting out or the return of the mystae. It may well have been a feature of both.

† Aristot. *Fragm.* ed. Heitz, p. 40. This editor is however of opinion that Aristotle is referring not to the mystae of Eleusis, but to those who received his esoteric doctrine.

Preller has summed up the performance as consisting of the following elements:—hymns, sacred dances, mimical scenes, and sudden apparitions, with solemn utterances and precepts to accompany them. It is likely that besides the human actors, there were puppets, some perhaps of considerable size and fitted to impress the awakened nerves of the auditors. Deities appeared ascending from the earth or descending from heaven; and uttering words of a mysterious kind, to which the mystae or their instructors might attach a deeper or a simpler meaning according to their taste and fancy. The dull would be impressed by the nobility of the pageant; the excitable might fancy that the deities themselves were present in bodily form; and the spiritually inclined might have their sense of the supernatural quickened, and read in sight and sound the promise of a better world beyond the grave. For this subjectivity and variety of impression certainly belonged in a marked degree to the mysteries. Full and perfect knowledge was said to belong to the hierophant alone; the priests understood much, but some things were beyond their comprehension, while the multitude followed the scenes with vague and uncertain surmises.

The testimony of vase-pictures in regard to the mysteries has often been cited. It must, however, be used with extreme caution. The Greeks would never have allowed vases to be painted with subjects taken from the sacred dramas of Eleusis, even if it had been the custom in Greece to transfer to painting scenes as they were enacted on the stage. But, as we know, this was not the custom; painting and acting have very different sets of laws; the treatment of the same subject develops in quite a different way in the drama from that in which it develops in art; and in particular the architectonic laws governing vase-painting are so strict as to prevent

it from attempting to render exactly any group or scene from actual life. We therefore have amply sufficient reasons for rejecting the fancy of those writers who saw in the subjects of a multitude of late Apulian and Campanian vases allusions to the mysteries of Dionysus and of Demeter. And even the vase paintings which depict such subjects as the carrying off of Persephone, the wanderings of Demeter, the sending forth of Triptolemus seem to be in no way connected with the dramas of the Eleusinian mysteries; but follow their own laws of development and grouping. Even when the nymph Eleusis is present at these scenes, there is an allusion to Eleusis as the locality where they originally took place, rather than as the spot where they were periodically re-enacted.

There are, however, a few vases extant, which do not in any way betray the secret of the mysteries, nor show us the details of the mystic dramas, yet which are useful as informing us in some points of detail as to the dress of the priests and so forth. Three of the most important will be found depicted on the 18th plate of Overbeck's great Atlas.* No. 18 on the plate represents the admission of Heracles to the mysteries at Agrae; No. 19 represents the parallel admission of the Dioscuri. On No. 20 is a most interesting group of deities and magistrates. The deities are those interested in the festival, Demeter, Persephone, Pallas, Triptolemus, Aphrodite and Artemis; the magistrates seem to be the four persons highest in authority at Eleusis, the Hierophant, who stands by a tripod clad in flowing robes and holding a thyrsus, the Epibomius, who carries a young pig and a corn sheaf, the Daduchus, who grasps two long torches, and the Hierokeryx, who also holds a torch. On all three of these vases we see, lying on the ground or in

* *Atlas zur Kunstmythologie.* See also text, vol. ii., p. 669.

the hands of votaries, what appear to be bundles of twigs, which are supposed, on the authority of the scholiast on a passage of Aristophanes,* to be those borne by the mystae, and called by them after their patron deity Bacchus.

It may seem not easy to reconcile the account which is here given of the Eleusinia with the strong language used in regard to them by many ancient writers. Everyone knows that it was universally considered by the ancients that the doctrine of the continued existence of the soul after death was especially proclaimed at Eleusis. Some writers even imply that none but the initiated had a sure hope in death. Sophocles and Polygnotus alike confine the bliss of a future life to those who had received the promise of it at Eleusis. Plato speaks in the *Phaedrus* in very high terms of the mysteries; to Plutarch we owe the fine saying that to die is to be initiated into the greater mysteries. And that the doctrine was supposed to bear also upon conduct in this life we may judge from the speech of Andocides to his judges, "You are initiated," said he, "that you may punish those who commit impiety, and save those who defend themselves from injustice."

But the testimony on which we have relied is on the whole fairly trustworthy. The touching and tasting of a few mystic substances, and the performance of miracle-plays, were all that the disinterested spectator would have seen. And of course these things would not have in themselves any power to raise the character or reform the life. We are told that robbers and murderers were initiated, and remained evil still. But it does not follow that the pious and the spiritual received no benefit from the initiation. The mysteries did not necessarily elevate

* *Knights*, l. 409. Βάκχον ἐκάλουν . . . . καὶ τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι.

men's hearts, but they gave those of lofty and spiritual minds a chance of being elevated. This must necessarily be the character of all ceremonies. If the sacrament of the Christian church were in detail described to an intelligent Pagan, would he not also find the mere ceremony a trivial thing, and be surprised to hear that many men trusted to its recurrence for keeping alive religion in their hearts? A ceremony affects people by its symbolism, and each man interprets the symbolism according to the state of his heart and his belief. To the vulgar-minded they are vulgar and trivial, to critical and uninterested spectators they are tedious and foolish; but to those to whom they have a meaning they are of real value; and the more vague the ceremony, the greater is the variety of meaning which can be put into it. Of dogmatic teaching, as we have already remarked, there was none at Eleusis: only pleasing sights to remain in the imagination, and short enigmatical sentences to be stored in the memory, all likely to recur to the mind at the critical moments of life, and whenever that state of nervous exaltation recurred which had existed when they were first received at Eleusis.

CHAPTER XIV.

DODONA AND THE ORACLES.

ONE of the most interesting spots in Greek legend and tradition is Dodona, the religious centre of the rudest and most primitive tribes of Greece; perhaps at one time the religious centre of the whole Greek race. The site of the sacred place was discovered and excavated by M. Carapanos; and his interesting results are published to the world in a monumental book* written in French.

There are many indications in the customs and ritual widely prevalent in Greece of the effects produced upon the Hellenic race by the physical features of Southern Epirus. Everywhere in Greece the river Achelous was regarded as the parent and the type of rivers; and the Dodonaean oracle constantly bade all who made application there to offer a sacrifice to Achelous. Near Dodona were two other streams also, named Acheron and Cocytus, which seem to be prototypes of the rivers which flowed, according to the imagination of the epic poets, through the fields of the world beyond the grave.

The divine cultus, which had its seat at Dodona, belongs to the deepest and most fundamental strata of Hellenic religion. The deities to whom it attached were a triad, called by the names of Zeus, Dione and Aphrodite. Similar triads, though bearing other names, are to be found in other places where that proto-Greek set of

* *Dodone et ses Ruines.*

influences, which later writers call Pelasgic, prevailed. In Samothrace, for instance, we have a primitive pair of deities called Axiokersus and Axiokersa, with their child Axieros, constituting a very similar group. And the primitive group of Hesiod, who represents Uranus and Gaea as giving birth to Eros, offers a close parallel. In all these cases we seem led back to a Greek pair, the heaven and the earth, with Love which unites and springs from the pair. The later religion of the Greeks drifted away from the Dodonaean type. The Astarte of Syria ousted the Aphrodite of the Pelasgians as an object of worship, Dione fell altogether into the background, and gave way to Hera and Demeter. But the Pelasgic Zeus still held his place. Achilles in the *Iliad*,* wishing to make a solemn appeal, turns naturally to him as an ancestral deity, "King Zeus of Dodona, the Pelasgian, dwelling afar, the ruler of wintry Dodona:" and the Zeus of Olympia was but a descendant of the Epirote god; in fact, a beautified and civilized descendant, developed on the main lines of Hellenic progress. At Dodona there was not, so far as we know, any worthy sculptural embodiment of Zeus like the great Olympian statue of Pheidias. And whereas Zeus at Olympia was the centre of all the beauty, the wisdom and the fancy of Greece, the Dodonaean god, amid his stormy mountains, remained half a barbarian. His priests were the Selli, who slept on the ground and washed not the feet, some college of prophets of a kind usual rather in Asia than in Greece, and his oracle never attained the clearness or the importance of the voice at Delphi.

It is in their bearing upon this oracle that recent discoveries are most interesting. It is much to have revealed the actual scene of the earliest of Greek holy places. The spoil in works of art which M. Carapanos

* xvi. 234.

has acquired is considerable, and especially interesting, because many of the small bronze figures of deities and of warriors belong to an early and important phase of Greek art. These, however, can only be studied in M. Carapanos' plates. The historical and chronological data of some of the inscriptions are also valuable. But these are detached points. The main value of the treasures found at Dodona lies in this, that there are among them tablets of lead, the inscriptions of which are connected with the Dodonaean oracle, and which, on the whole, afford us a clearer and more vivid notion than we had hitherto possessed of the way in which the less advanced of the Greeks regarded and used oracular shrines.

The more important oracles, which were usually connected with some shrine of Apollo, were clear and articulate in question and in reply. To them kings and states and persons of standing brought the problems which had perplexed them to be solved by the higher wisdom of the god. In carefully arranged order they were introduced into the sacred shrine, and the priestess from the tripod filled with an ecstacy of Apolline inspiration gave them their answer, which was carefully taken down, and which served often to guide colonies in the choice of a place, or nations in the decision between peace and war. It has often been remarked that the Greeks as a rule, when compared with Oriental peoples, were decidedly sceptical as to the value of the utterances of those in a state of nervous exaltation. Plato is something of an exception to the rule: in the *Timaeus** he remarks that foresight of the future does not belong to men sane and sensible, but to those under the influence of sleep, disease or inspiration. At the Apolline oracles this divine madness was systematically used as a means for learning the will, and profiting by the wisdom, of the gods.

* p. 336.

But there were other oracles in which the gods were consulted not through the frenzy of the priestess, but rather by a systematic taking of omens. Any sound or sight might be regarded by the pious as a message from the gods. And especially any sudden and unexplained phenomenon, lightning, a sneeze, a sudden appearance of birds, would be likely to have a deeper meaning than appeared on the surface. And the reading of these omens was an art or profession which required long study, and carefully trained faculties. The Homeric seer Chalcas was no prophet, inspired by heaven, but a highly-trained professional man, a δημιοεργός, who had learned to spy out the true but occult meaning of all the phenomena in which it was likely that the divine purposes would reveal themselves, more especially in the flight of birds, and in the convolutions of the internal organs of animals offered in sacrifice. The taking of omens was the work of hereditary clans of skilled observers.

The history of the oracle at Dodona seems to cover all the distance between the mere taking of omens and the developed Apolline oracles. That it was by omens, some of them of a very primitive kind, that the will of Zeus was made manifest seems clear. Yet in the later age of Greece, at all events, the responses of Dodona were as systematic and as clear as those of Delphi. It will be necessary to set forth the evidence for both of these statements.

Eustathius, in commenting on the already cited passage of the *Iliad*, which speaks of the Selli of Dodona as washing not the feet and sleeping on the ground, regards it as a proof that oracles were sometimes given there by dream. Of course we cannot say that it was not so: but the Homeric passage on the face of it appears rather to refer to the rude and outdoor life of the Selli than to any custom such as is inferred. That

the oak-tree at Dodona was an ordinary source of supernatural wisdom is clear from several passages in the Tragedians. Aeschylus * and Sophocles † both speak of the vocal oaks as the source of oracles in the shrine of Zeus, and in fact the picturesque expression of Sophocles "many-tongued oak" seems clearly to point to the murmuring of the oak leaves as an articulate language. Again, Servius in commenting on a passage of the *Aeneid*,‡ speaks of a stream which flowed at the foot of this oak as a source of inspiration. The meaning of the frequent mention of doves (πελειάδες) in connexion with the Dodonaean oracle is more ambiguous; for besides the doves which seem to have been connected with the temple, and which may in early times have given auguries by their flying and their cooing, the name of "doves" was later transferred to the priestesses, who spoke with more articulate voice. There was another curious mode of taking responses, which seems to imply that all the place was sacred, and even the wind that blew there was not devoid of purpose and meaning. The Corcyreans dedicated near the shrine a bronze tripod, over which stood a bronze man holding in his hand a whip, to which astragali were attached. In the wind these astragali struck the tripod, and from the noise which resulted omens were sometimes taken.

We have, however, abundant proof that in the historical ages of Greece the responses at Dodona were given by priestesses, and Plato § in one place says that the Dodonaean priestess spoke like the Delphic under the dominion of an ecstasy. Whether this implies that the oracle in Epirus became altogether like those of Apollo we cannot be sure: it may be that the utterances of the Peleiades were still to some extent controlled by the omens given

* *Prom. Vinc.*, 851. † *Trachiniae*, 1148. ‡ iii. 466.
§ *Phaedrus*, p. 244 b.

by the rustling of the branches of the sacred tree, or the moaning of doves in its branches. At all events the mere inarticulate voice of tree and dove would need to be put into words by intelligent agency.

We possess in the text of Greek writers several responses given on solemn occasions by the Dodonaean oracle. On one occasion Herodotus says * the people of Apollonia applied to Dodona because the sacred flocks of Apollo were stricken with barrenness. The answer came that "The woes were come on account of Euenius, the guardian of the flocks, whom the people of Apollonia had wrongfully deprived of sight [for letting wolves slay some of the flock]. The gods had themselves sent the wolves, nor would they ever cease to exact vengeance for Euenius till the Apolloniates made him whatsoever atonement he liked to ask." Truly Euenius seems to have been a person fortunate in his friends. In Demosthenes' oration against Meidias,† there is cited a response which seems to show that the Athenians of that age were by no means too much given to divine service. "The priest of Zeus signifies to the Demos of the Athenians; because ye let pass the due time of sacrifice and embassy, therefore he bids you send quickly a chosen embassy, three oxen to Zeus Naius, and with each ox two sheep, and to Dione a cow and a lamb for sacrifice, besides a brazen table as an addition to the trophy dedicated by the Athenian Demos." One of the Dodonaean oracles to Athens was, if we may believe Pausanias, of most fatal consequence: it bade the Athenians Σικελίαν οἰκίζειν,‡ and was one of the causes which induced them to undertake their fatal expedition to Sicily. Of course the god came out of the business quite well; he had meant that they were to settle a small hill near Athens called Sikelia, and not the Island of Sicily.

* ix. 93. † p. 531. ‡ Paus. viii. 11, 12.

It would be easy to multiply these citations: the known Dodonaean responses are collected by M. Carapanos,* and are both numerous and important. But it is time to pass on to the discoveries of the excavator, which throw especial light on the method in which enquiries were made, and on the kinds of questions put to the god. Curiously, M. Carapanos did not find any complete or certain instance of a response to questions: probably these were taken away by the votaries; but of written questions he found abundance.

These questions were graven on leaden tablets; most of them are made by private persons, in most cases probably inhabitants of the more backward districts of Greece, Epirotes and Aetolians and Acarnanians, and in their naïve directness and their defective grammar, they seem to bring before us clear proof of the simple faith, as well as of the primitive manners, of those who consulted the god.†

We must first cite a few questions of political character, put by Greek civic communities. The people of Tarentum question the oracle of Zeus Naius and of Dione as to means of prosperity (*περὶ παντυχίας*). A more detailed question is put by some (unascertained) neighbours of the Molossians, who enquire as to a proposed alliance with that people. And the Corcyreans put a question which to those who know their history sounds somewhat like a bitter jest: "to what god or hero they must offer prayer or sacrifice, to secure the blessing of internal harmony?"

The enquiries of private persons are more numerous,

* p. 142, foll.

† These oracle inscriptions are treated in some detail by Mr. E. S. Roberts in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, where other discussions of them are also cited. I need scarcely apologize for freely using Mr. Roberts' versions, and his results.

and naturally of a more trivial character. Sometimes they are quite general. One Eubander, or Evander, and his wife would fain be informed to what god or what hero they must sacrifice in order to attain to prosperity. A native of Ambracia puts a similar request; he enquires in regard to health, fortune and prosperity, and would fain learn to what god he must offer his prayers in order to gain these ends. Such requests as these have a somewhat formal and conventional air, like the prayers of regular attendants at worship. But others are more detailed and of more interest. One Lysanias enquires whether the child with which his wife or mistress Annyla is pregnant is his own. One Agis, who has lost some cushions and pillows, and who is uncertain whether the theft is due to strangers or to some member of his own household, tries to make Zeus decide the question for him. Another votary seems to ask in an inscription, which we possess only in fragmentary form, whether it will be to his advantage to buy some town-house and farm which are in his mind. A capitalist asks whether if he takes to sheep-farming it will prove a good investment. One Heracleidas asks the god whether any other child besides Aegle will be born to him.

Sometimes the questions are so worded that they will be intelligible only to the god, perhaps a necessary precaution, if the honesty of the Peleiades or the priests was not above suspicion. Diognetus, son of Aristomedes, an Athenian, "begs and entreats you, Lord and Master, Zeus Naïos, and Dione, and you Dodonaeans, to grant (a certain favour) to himself and all his well-wishers and his mother Clearete." As however this inscription is incomplete, the nature of the favour asked may have been stated in the part of it which has perished. The following is clearer. A certain person enquires "whether he shall be successful in trading in such a way as seems to

him expedient, carrying on at the same time his own craft." This votary clearly preferred that the god only, and not his ministers, should have a voice in his affairs. In another case a group of persons who make a common enquiry seem to prefer to limit the reply to certain lines. They ask "whether they shall best prosper by going to Elina (a place not mentioned elsewhere) or to Anactorium, or by effecting a certain sale." Evidently they had discussed the matter well among themselves, and though they were willing to let the god decide among their divergent views, did not care to run the risk of his suggesting some course which would please nobody.

Requests such as these roughly engraven on lead tablets were laid before the god. But of the method in which answers were given the excavations give us no clear information. Nor is there among our tablets any certain specimen of a written response, though there are a few fragments which may be parts of such responses. These questions, couched in rude and uncouth dialectic forms, and full of bad grammar and false spelling, seem to bring vividly before us the hopes and fears, the customs and beliefs of a bygone age. The rude races who dwelt around stormy Dodona, Epirotes and Acarnanians and Locrians preserved their belief in the responses of the gods, when more polished and sceptical races of Greece had ceased to believe in any god except Fortune. The questions which they brought to Dodona were not merely such as modern people would naturally bring to a priest, questions of cult and sacrifice, but also such as we might put to a physician, a lawyer, or a stock-broker. Our own ancestors of a few generations back might have put such questions to the wise woman, or have opened the Bible at random to try and light on a solution for them in a Scripture-text, but they would not

have carried them to the highest shrine of their religion. Even the Roman and Greek churches, which in so many ways carry on the customs of pagan religion, do not provide any fortune-telling apparatus. Prayer and purification, sacrifice and mystery, all survive in Christendom, but the oracles are dumb, and the needs which they supplied have to find satisfaction elsewhere.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER AND GREEK CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST.

THE modern historians of Greece are much divided on the question where a history of Hellas ought to end. Curtius stops with the battle of Chaeroneia and the prostration of Athens before the advancing power of Macedon. Grote narrates the campaigns of Alexander, but stops short at the conclusion of the Lamian War, when Greece had in vain tried to shake off the supremacy of his generals. Thirlwall brings his narrative down to the time of Mummius, the melancholy sack of Corinth, and the constitution of Achaia as a Roman province. Of these divergent views we regard that of the German historian as the most correct.

The plan of Bishop Thirlwall compels him to speak of Hellas as the land of the Greeks for centuries after the centre of gravity of the Hellenic world had been transferred to Syria and Egypt, to Antioch, Pergamus, and Alexandria. It is as if a historian of the Dorians should confine his attention to the strip of land called Doris; or a historian of the Arabs should omit to speak of the Mohammedan conquests in the three continents.

The limits which Mr. Grote has imposed on himself are equally unfortunate. He details the victories of Alexander, but has to pass by the results of those victories. He shows us the Greeks breaking the narrow bounds of their race and becoming masters of Asia and Africa, but

gives us no account of what they did with those continents when they had acquired them. He leads us into the middle of the greatest revolution that ever took place in Hellenic manners and life, and then leaves us to find our way through the maze as best we can.

The historic sense of Grote did not exclude prejudices, and in this case he was probably led astray by political bias. At the close of his ninety-sixth chapter, after mentioning the embassies sent by the degenerate Athenians to King Ptolemy, King Lysimachus, and Antipater, he throws down his pen in disgust, "and with sadness and humiliation brings his narrative to a close." Athens was no longer free and no longer dignified, and so Mr. Grote will have done with Greece at the very moment when the new Comedy was at its height, when the Museum was founded at Alexandria, when the plays of Euripides were acted at Babylon and Cabul, and every Greek soldier of fortune carried a diadem in his baggage. Surely the historian of Greece ought either to have stopped when the iron hand of Philip of Macedon put an end to the liberties and the political wranglings of Hellas, or else persevered to the time when Rome and Parthia crushed Greek power between them, like a ship between two icebergs.

No doubt his reply would be, that he declined to regard the triumph abroad of Macedonian arms as a continuation of the history of Hellas. In Philip of Macedon he sees only the foreign conqueror of the Greeks, in Alexander a semi-barbarian soldier of fortune. No doubt it is possible, by accepting the evil told us by historians about Alexander, and rejecting the good, to make him appear a monster. But were Alexander even less noble and less far-sighted than Mr. Grote supposes him to have been, this would not in any way alter the tendencies of his conquests. Wherever the Macedonian settled, the

Greek became his fellow-citizen, and had over him the advantage of a greater talent for civil life. The Macedonians spoke the Greek language, using a peculiar dialect, but that dialect disappears with their other provincialisms when they suddenly become dominant. We find no trace in Asia of any specially Macedonian deities; it is the gods of Hellas that the army of Alexander bears into the East. Even in manners and customs there seems to have been small difference between Greek and Macedonian; in our own day many primitive Greek customs, which have died out elsewhere, survive in remote districts of Macedonia. No doubt there was a great deal of Thracian blood among the hardy shepherds who followed the standards of Philip and Alexander; but if not only the nobility but even the common people had no language, religion, or customs different from those of the Greeks, how was it possible to prevent the races from becoming mingled? The more wealthy and educated classes in Macedonia were mostly Greek by blood, and entirely Greek in everything else except the practice of self-government. Wherever Alexander went, Homer and Aristotle went too. In the wake of his army came the Greek philosopher and man of science, the Greek architect and artist, the Greek merchant and artisan. And Alexander must have known this. When he tried to fuse Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians, into one race, he must have known that whose blood soever ruled the mixture, Greek letters, science, and law must needs gain the upper hand. He must have known that the Greek schoolmasters would make Homer and Hesiod familiar to the children; that the strolling companies of Dionysiac artists would repeat in every city the masterpieces of the Greek drama; and that the Odes of Simonides and Pindar would be sung wherever there was a Greek lyre.

It is well known that the ancients themselves took a

view of the career of Alexander very different from Mr. Grote's. We will cite but a single passage from Plutarch, who wrote ages after the glamour and glare, which for long after Alexander's death concealed the reality of his achievements, had died away: "He taught the Hyrcanians the institution of marriage, the Arachosians agriculture; he caused the Sogdians to support, not kill, their parents, the Persians to respect, not wed, their mothers. Wondrous philosopher! who made the Indians worship the gods of the Greeks, the Scythians bury their dead instead of eating them. Asia, ordered by Alexander, read Homer; the sons of the Persians, Susians, Gedrosians, repeated the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles." This may be rhetorical, but still the rhetoric is very careful in its sweep to avoid collision with fact. It was precisely the people of North India who did receive the Greek deities; it was, above all tragedians, Sophocles and Euripides who were in favour with the Asiatics. What Plutarch says about the Sogdians is completely confirmed by Strabo.

The truth is, that the history of Greece consists of two parts, in every respect contrasted one with the other. The first recounts the stories of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, and ends with the destruction of Thebes and the subjugation of Athens and Sparta. The Hellas of which it speaks is a cluster of autonomous cities in the Peloponnesus, the Islands, and Northern Greece, together with their colonies scattered over the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Thrace, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and Africa. These cities care only to be independent, or at most to lord it over one another. Their political institutions, their religious ceremonies, their customs, are civic and local. Language, commerce, a common Pantheon, and a common art and poetry are the ties that bind them together. In its second phase, Greek history

begins with the expedition of Alexander. It reveals to us the Greek as everywhere lord of the barbarian, as founding kingdoms and federal systems, as the instructor of all mankind in art and science, and the spreader of civil and civilized life over the known world. In the first period of her history Greece is forming herself, in her second she is educating the world. We will venture to borrow from the Germans a convenient expression, and call the history of independent Greece the history of Hellas, that of imperial Greece the history of Hellenism.

In England Hellenism has been less fortunate as to its historians than in Germany, where it has occupied the attention, among others, of Niebuhr, Heeren, and Droysen. The period of the Diadochi or Successors of Alexander does not attract the student. The tone of Greek life was everywhere lowered, and manners had become luxurious and corrupt. Literature survived, and in some branches such as the Idyl and the Epigram flourished, but it had lost its freshness and become full of affectations. Philosophy was eagerly pursued, and went on developing, but there was no Plato to write it. It is difficult to discover any political matter of interest amid the incessant wars of the Antiochi and Ptolemies. To most readers Hellas, in the third and second centuries before our era, is like a man smitten with foul and incurable disease, and they are glad when the Roman conquest gives the *coup de grâce*, and affords an opportunity of decent burial. And yet in this unattractive period is to be found the transition from ethnic and national to universal morality, from merely civic or autocratic to federal or imperial government, from ancient to modern sentiment and feeling. In it domestic life was largely developed, and the ground was prepared in which the seeds of Christianity were to be sown.

To write the history of Hellenism requires talents of no

common order. In this field we have no leading authority like Thucydides or Tacitus. We have to piece together the scattered testimonies of Justin, Appian, and Diodorus; sometimes to try and fill up the enormous gaps they leave with quotations from writers like Zonaras and the Syncellus. An incidental statement of Pliny, of Lucian, or of Strabo, may contain all that we know of what happened during half a century in a great kingdom. These remarks apply of course rather to the eastern provinces of the empire of Alexander than to those bordering on the Mediterranean. Of the latter we have a tolerably consecutive account, especially when the Roman history of Polybius comes to our help. But in all cases the historians are far more ready to record the intestine wars which raged in the kingdoms of the Diadochi, and the crimes of their rulers, than to give us any notion of the systems of government, the municipal constitutions, the laws, the commerce, and the customs prevailing in the world of Hellenism. Yet these are the subjects on which now we eagerly desire information, while we are comparatively indifferent as to the results of the combats of the mercenaries of the Antiochi, the Antigoni, and the Ptolemies.

To a certain extent the silence of historians is compensated by the existence of less accessible but deeper and more trustworthy sources of information. The Greek inscriptions found in the cities of Asia Minor furnish us with numerous details as to the civic life, the habits, and the religious observances of the dwellers in those cities under Seleucid and Roman rule. From existing Egyptian papyri M. Lumbroso has compiled an account of the government, the trade, and the general condition of Egypt under the Ptolemies. Professor Helbig has traced in the mural paintings of Pompeii the entire history of painting from Alexander the Great onwards,

and by an admirable induction has established a number of propositions as to the nature of the art of the Hellenistic world; whence we may learn much as to the emotions and perceptions of that world. Of the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and Cabul scarcely any memorial remains, except the abundant and interesting coins from which General Cunningham has been able to extract a surprising amount of information. Using these and other sources, and especially the masterly history of Droysen, who has brought all the rivulets of information together and united them into a stream of narrative, we will endeavour slightly to sketch the main characteristics of Hellenism, and to estimate the effects of the conquests of Alexander on Greece and Macedonia, on the various provinces of the old Persian Empire, in fact on the whole Oriental world, from Epirus on the west to India on the east, and from Pontus in the north to Egypt and Libya on the south. How slight such a sketch must be within the present limits of space, it is hardly necessary to point out.

In no country were the changes produced by Alexander more striking than in his own Macedonia. Before his time and his father's, that land was a kingdom of the old Homeric type, whose ruler was *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, but no despotic lord, and which was full of a sturdy and free population of ploughmen and shepherds. Even Philip never places his effigy on his coins nor calls himself King. But the Antigonid princes who afterwards ruled in Macedon were despots of the Asiatic type. They wore the diadem, were surrounded by a court, and were the centre of a bureaucratic and military system. They regarded their people as taxable property and as material for the manufacture of armies. And that people itself was sadly fallen and diminished. The Macedonian, lord throughout Asia, was at home

little better than a thrall. While he pushed his conquests down the Indus and up the Nile, he was at home scarcely able to make head against barbarous neighbours. All the youth and energy of the country flowed in a never-ceasing stream towards the East; only the unenterprising of the population remained at home. And this led to the most disastrous results. It was the age of the great eastward expeditions of the Gauls. A large body of them poured, about 280 B.C., through the passes of the Balkans down upon the devoted land. The King, Ptolemy Ceraunus, fell in battle, and like a flood the Gallic swarms swept over the plains of Macedon, slaying, torturing, burning, and committing every hideous excess which the heart of a barbarian can invent. In their own land, the Macedonians felt tenfold all the misery and shame which they had inflicted on Persia. This was no case of the overthrow of one Greek state by another, it was no contest between civilized or semi-civilized nations, but the wasting of a settled land by a barbarous horde, whose only desires were to satisfy every brutal and bloodthirsty passion, to carry off all that could be carried, and to leave nothing behind but a broad track of fire and blood. For a moment the militia of the land, rallied by the gallant Sosthenes, who ought to be better known to history, made a stand, but again they were swept away by fresh waves of barbarism. Under Brennus the Gauls swarm southwards until they reach the very gates of Greece. And for a moment Greece remembers her old self, and the day when the Persians were advancing on the same road. Thermopylae must again be garrisoned. Antiochus, King of Syria, remembered his relationship to Hellas, and sent a contingent. The Boeotians, Phocians, and Aetolians mustered in force, Athens despatched 1500 men. The story of the defence of the

pass reminds one of old Greek days. Brennus, like Xerxes, could not force a way until traitors showed him the old path over the mountains; then like Xerxes he took the defenders in rear, and but for the presence of Athenian triremes at hand to which they could fly, the little Greek army must have shared the fate of Leonidas. But the pass was forced, and Aetolia and Phocis lay at the mercy of the barbarians. Xerxes had made an attempt upon Delphi, and the god of Delphi had interfered to protect his temple; but, in spite of fears, the rich treasures of the temple induced the Gauls to repeat the sacrilegious attempt. We fancy that we are reading romance rather than history, when we find in Justin's narrative how Apollo appeared in person, accompanied by the warlike virgins Athene and Artemis, and wrought terrible havoc on the invading hosts; how an earthquake and a terrific storm completed the discomfiture of the Gauls, and Brennus fell by his own hand. At all events, whether the foes of the invaders at Delphi were mortal or superhuman, certainly they penetrated no further into Greece. Those who were not destroyed made a hasty retreat northward. Meantime their brethren, who had remained in Macedon, had been put to the sword by the hereditary King, Antigonus Gonatas, who had enticed them into his own deserted camp, and then fallen on them while they were feasting and spoiling. A third body of Gauls crossed over at Byzantium into Asia and founded the Gallo-Greek kingdom of Galatia in the heart of Phrygia. A fourth body settled in Thrace, and levied tribute on the Greek city of Byzantium.

The flood had spent its fury and had ebbed, and as it retired it left Macedon and Greece exhausted and depopulated, but not demoralized. Almost all great outbursts in the life of nations have followed the successful

repulse of a powerful invader. So Holland awoke after expelling the Spaniard, and the England of Elizabeth after frustrating him. So in Greece the great burst of Hellenic literature and art followed on the retreat of Xerxes. And after the repulse of the Gauls, we find among the northern Greeks a political revival, and even a certain after-bloom of art, if the theory be true which sees in the Apollo Belvedere and the Artemis of the Louvre the representations in contemporary sculpture of the deities of Delphi, as they appeared to the terror-stricken barbarians. It was Antigonus Gonatas, as we said, who so severely defeated the Gauls: and the same monarch before his death had formed a new Macedon. During his reign Greek culture and manners advanced ever more and more towards the north, and influenced even the rude Triballi and Dardani as far as the Danube. The population began to recover and the cities to grow, and Macedon to become once more a great power. The old Homeric freedom was gone for ever, but order and civilization had taken its place.

If we turn to the Hellas which was contemporary with Antigonus and his successors, we shall find that the differences between it and the Hellas of Thucydides were rather deep-seated and radical than prominent and obvious. Thessaly was incorporated with the Macedonian kingdom. But in all Greece south of Thessaly the appearance of autonomy remained. No Macedonian harmost or oligarchy held sway in the cities. Only one or two of them, notably Corinth, usually contained a Macedonian garrison. Had the Greek cities now been content with an obscure autonomy, the kings of Macedon would probably have seldom interfered with them. But any city which adopted a lofty tone in dealing with its neighbours was sure to attract the attention of the King; any city which attained wealth and prosperity

would certainly be called on to pay a subsidy to his exchequer. The Greeks, though much of their spirit was gone, were not so humbled as willingly to accept this position. Two courses were open to them. The meaner and more slavish of the cities sought to buy for themselves the protection of one of the new kings of Asia or Africa by embassies, flatteries, and presents. The more sturdy and independent cities, in their efforts to escape from a humiliating position, made a great political discovery.

This was the federal system of government. Hitherto, in Greece, either the cities had been independent one of another, or, if a confederacy was formed, the lead in it was always taken by one powerful state, which was practically master of the rest. The Athens of Pericles was dictator among the cities which had joined her alliance. Corinth, Sparta, Thebes, were each the political head of a group of towns, but none of the three admitted these latter to an equal share in their councils, or adopted their political views. Even in the Olynthian League, the city of Olynthus occupied a position quite superior to that of the other cities. But the Greek cities had not tried the experiment of an alliance on equal terms. This was now attempted by some of the leading cities of the Peloponnese, and the result was the Achaean League, whose history sheds a lustre on the last days of independent Greece, and whose generals will bear comparison with the statesmen of any Greek Republic.

Twice a year the ordinary assemblies of the League were held at Aegium; but extraordinary assemblies might be convoked by the General to meet elsewhere. By this Assembly was made the selection of the officers of the League; the General, who was its head, and his colleagues, the Admiral, the Master of the Horse, the Secretary, and ten Councillors. The Assembly had

further to deliberate on, and either accept or reject, measures brought before it by the Senate of the League. The voting took place, not by counting individuals, but by cities, and we have reason to believe that in the manner of reckoning the votes by individual cities some allowance was made for the influence of property. How this was done remains doubtful in the absence of exact details; perhaps there was some regulation that the journey to Aegium should not be undertaken by all who had a fancy, but only by certain approved persons. Mr. Freeman, in his *History of Federal Government*, suggests that the length of the journey and the necessity of remaining for some time from home would in itself deter the poor of the Achaean cities from attending the meetings at Aegium, but it seems doubtful if that natural restriction were the only one. All the cities would appear to have had an equal number of votes, but it was quite a matter of arrangement what was reckoned as a city. In the case of the Messenians, for example, three cities were accepted as members of the League, and then all the rest counted as one city of "the Messenians." So some of the suburbs of Megalopolis claimed to enter the League separately. We find here, then, no pure democracy, but a political system carefully constructed on representative and timocratic principles. The General was almost absolute master, but his power ceased at the end of a year, and he was not immediately re-eligible, so that he could hold his office in alternate years only. Aratus, who formed the League and was General seventeen times, is one of the most interesting characters of antiquity. His statesmanship and his power of ruling men were unrivalled, and, considering the circumstances of the age, it adds greatly to our interest in his character that, as a soldier, he was more than suspected of cowardice.

The rival of the Achaean League in the Peloponnese was a reformed and renewed Sparta. Sparta was the last city in Greece to fall from pristine simplicity and hardihood into the luxury and loose morality of the Macedonian times, and at no city were such vigorous and noble efforts made to return to the lost virtue. When Agis, the son of Eudamidas, ascended the throne in 244 B.C., he found not only luxury and avarice domiciled in Sparta, but the whole of the land, which Lycurgus had divided into equal lots, absorbed in the possession of one hundred wealthy families, and even in great part in the hands of women. To restore the sternness and simplicity of ancient manners, and to provide Sparta with new citizens and every citizen with a plot of land, was the conservative idea of this young statesman. Every one may read, in the inimitable narrative of Plutarch, how his noble enthusiasm cost him his life, and how his schemes, living on in the love and reverence of his wife, Agiatis, passed to her second husband, the new king, Cleomenes, and launched him on a desperate effort to overthrow the Ephors and to restore the habits and constitution established by Lycurgus. The part that women took in the promotion of and opposition to his plans, is characteristic of the times and of the city where women were ever held in more honour than elsewhere.

No more painful occurrence can perplex and disturb the reader of history than when two honest and noble men, in the accomplishment of their unselfish plans, are so thrown into hostility one against the other, that one must fall, and one set of plans be ruined. So it was in this case. Achaia and Sparta both required consolidation by success. The Peloponnese was not wide enough for Cleomenes and Aratus. Either, left to himself, might have restored the liberties of Greece, though in different

ways; their rivalry made liberty more impossible than ever. Aratus, as the weaker in the field, stultified his whole life, which had been devoted to the securing of independence to the Achaeans, by calling in the King of Macedon to take his part against Cleomenes. On the field of Sellasia the glorious hopes of Cleomenes were wrecked, and the recently reformed Sparta was handed over to a succession of bloodthirsty tyrants, never again to emerge from obscurity. But to the Achaeans themselves the interference of Macedon was little less fatal. Henceforth a Macedonian garrison occupied Corinth, which had been one of the chief cities of the League; and King Antigonus Doson was the recognized arbiter in all disputes of the Peloponnesian Greeks.

In Northern Greece a strange contrast presented itself. The historic races of the Athenians and Boeotians languished in peace, obscurity, and luxury. With them every day saw something added to the enjoyments and elegancies of life, and every day politics drifted more and more into the background. On the other hand, the rude semi-Greeks of the West, Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Epirotes, to whose manhood the repulse of the Gauls was mainly due, came to the front and showed the bold spirit of Greeks divorced from the finer faculties of the race. The Acarnanians formed a league somewhat on the plan of the Achaean. But they were overshadowed by their neighbours the Aetolians, whose union was of a different character. It was the first time that there had been formed in Hellas a state framed in order to prey upon its neighbours. Among themselves, the Aetolians constituted the pure democracy peculiar to men who live with arms in their hands. Yearly they met at the stronghold of Thermus, where was stowed the booty won in their piratical expeditions, in order to

elect a general and decide on peace and war. But the contrast between these freebooters and the Achaeans is sufficiently marked by the circumstance that, when the latter admitted a city into their league, it entered with a full share of rights and had the same privileges as other cities. But when we hear of a city joining the Aetolian league, all that seems to be implied is that it paid an annual tribute in order to buy off the attacks of the Aetolians and to secure their protection against its neighbours. That such a city would send deputies to the Aetolian Assembly, or have a voice in the election of a general, there is no reason to believe. Epirus continued unchanged by the side of renovated Macedonia, a kingdom of the old Homeric type, in which the power of the king was by no means unlimited, but subject to the control alike of the nobility and the *prostates* or president, whose name we find on inscriptions beside the king's. After the death of Pyrrhus and his son, the Epirotes, instead of falling into the hands of the Macedonian sovereign, formed a republic, democracy being far more suited to their habits and traditions than submission to any absolute ruler.

Of the kingdoms founded by the generals of Alexander, the most compact and highly organised was Egypt. In Egypt Alexander was welcomed as a deliverer by a superstitious race; he gave out that he was the son of the Egyptian deity Ammon. To the Egyptians it was an easy thing to add to the number of their gods, and to Alexander a distinguished place in the royal section of the Pantheon was at once accorded. Ptolemy, to whom good fortune had assigned Egypt as a satrapy on the death of his master, had no difficulty in taking his place in matters religious as well as political. He found a priest-ridden country, and, by closely binding the priesthood to himself, he gained the veneration of the

people. He found settled laws and an elaborate administrative machinery; he retained both in the main, though modifying each with the political talent for which he was so justly famed. The commerce, the wealth, and the population of Egypt advanced at a wonderful pace under his wise rule; so that the armies, the ships, the riches, the literary and artistic treasures of Egypt became within half a century the wonder of the world.

In the administration of Egypt Ptolemy adopted and utilized that division into districts, or nomes, which had been in use from the earliest times. But the general government of the individual nomes became more military in character, while at the same time the various branches of the civil government were placed in the hands of separate officials. At the head of every nome was a Macedonian *strategus*, or general, assisted by an administrative officer, called an *epistates*, and a secretary. In every nome there were *agoranomi*, Hellenic functionaries, entrusted with the inspection of markets, the regulation of trade, and the settlement of the disputes between merchants. Graver causes were tried by commissions of three judges, who passed in circuit from city to city; or they were carried to Alexandria for decision. Villages and sub-districts had each their group of officers, and the nomes themselves were gathered into larger provinces, under the headship of a provincial governor.

At the head of the whole bureaucracy stood the King, whose decree was law throughout the length and breadth of the land, and around whom was a military court, with innumerable grades of honour and distinction. To be enrolled in the bodyguard, to gain a right to the title of the King's Friend or the King's Cousin, was the ambition of Greek mercenaries and native Egyptians; and as these titles and honours were to a great

extent hereditary in Egypt, they occupied the same relative position as the old German titles of office. But of course, in a land where a word of the sovereign could raise to honour or condemn to disgrace, any independent order of aristocracy was out of the question. All the higher honours, both about the person of the monarch and in the provinces, were in the hands of Macedonians and Greeks, the leaders of the hired troops who represented the physical force of the Egyptian kingdom. Any restraint which existed on the arbitrary power of the king came from them. On the demise of a king, they appointed his successor out of the princes of the Ptolemaic race, and, when a king became distasteful to them, they possessed means for depriving him of the diadem. The native Egyptians seem to have accepted calmly a position of inferiority, out of which a man here and there rose by talent or fortune. They had long been unused to independence, and the respect paid to their laws and religion by their new masters made them disposed cheerfully to submit to their supremacy and protection. Only the great ports of Alexandria and Naucratis, with Ptolemais, a city built in Upper Egypt in order to dominate Thebes,—all three of which cities had in the main a Greek population,—enjoyed to a large extent the right of self-government, and formed small *imperia in imperio.*

Both in political skill and in love of letters, the Kings of Pergamus were not inferior to the Ptolemies. Their territory was small; yet one of them, Attalus I., was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Gauls, and afterwards to use them as mercenaries against his neighbours. It was the traditional policy of the race to stand beside Rome in her wars in the East; a course of conduct which brought a rich reward. All the princes of this dynasty were literary. Attalus I. composed a

treatise on botany; Eumenes II. was noted as a munificent patron of authors; Attalus II. corresponded with the philosopher Polemo; and, when Mummius sacked Corinth, he did his best to save from destruction the masterpieces of art of which that city was full. The library of Pergamus contained 200,000 volumes when Antony presented it to Cleopatra; and the parchment of Pergamus has played a greater part even than the papyrus of Egypt in preserving for us copies of ancient works. Unlike the later Ptolemies, the Kings of Pergamus possessed civic and domestic virtues. They cared little for regal state, and liked to appear to their people as only the leading citizens. In a dissolute age it is remarkable to find the two sons of Attalus I. erecting a temple at Cyzicus, not to their mistresses but to their mother Apollonis, who was a native of the city.

In most respects the vast and ill-compacted empire of the Seleucidae formed a marked contrast to the highly organized kingdom of Egypt. Seleucus and his successors never succeeded, like the Ptolemies, in conciliating the national and religious prejudices of the races over which they ruled. The policy of Alexander, who had determined to make one race of Greeks and Persians, died with him. The Kings of Syria did not adopt like him the Persian dress, nor marry like him Asiatic wives. We trace in such fragments of their history as have come down to us strong indications of hostility between them and the creeds of the subject-races. On the occasion of the foundation by Seleucus of the city of Seleucia on the Tigris, the Magi tried to cheat the King into choosing an unpropitious site. To the Persian worshippers of Ormazd the image-worship of the Greeks seemed a degrading superstition. Antiochus IV. made a vigorous endeavour to introduce the worship of Zeus Olympius in the cities of his dominion,

even in the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. So, while in Egypt the population was quiescent, in the Syrian Empire we have a long series of national revolts under patriotic leaders, beginning with the secession of the Persians in Iran and Media, and ending with the successful struggle of the Jewish Maccabees for independence.

In fact in all Asia, save Asia Minor and Syria, the Hellenistic princes had very little hold on the peoples of the country except that arising from fear. What then were the means by which they so long retained their sway in the midst of a hostile population? The answer to this important question contains the secret of the history of Asia during the three centuries before the Christian era.

In the first place, the Greek kings in Asia could always secure the services of Greek and Macedonian mercenaries. At the time of Alexander's expedition against the Persian Empire there were stored in all the great cities, Susa, Ecbatana, Babylon, and the rest, enormous treasures of gold and silver. These were the hoarded results of the Persian exactions, and prodigal as Alexander was in his expenditure, he could not quite exhaust the vast supply, but left a proportion for his successors. As the shedding of honey draws together a cloud of flies, so the gradual melting of the mountain of Persian gold drew over into Asia a constant stream of soldiers of fortune. These men, who came chiefly from Crete, Arcadia, Macedon, and Thrace, were unscrupulous indeed, but under good generals they made fair soldiers, and the descendants of Seleucus knew how to attach them to their service. We have a racy picture of one of these gentry in the Pyrgopolinices of Plautus, and no doubt the figure was familiar enough to the new Attic comedy.

But a mere mercenary army is not in itself sufficient to bind together a civilized State. It is well shown by Droysen that the main source of Greek power throughout Asia was in the cities founded everywhere in extraordinary numbers by Alexander and his successors. From the earliest days of Hellas the city had been a self-complete unit, organized and independent. The Greek cities of Asia Minor, even when under the sway of the Persian kings they had paid tribute and admitted a garrison, yet possessed in many respects their autonomy, appointed their own magistrates, and regulated their own commerce. Hence it would appear that the great Alexander conceived the idea of binding to himself the provinces which he overran by building a chain of cities across them, cities with mixed population, but dominated by a Greek faction, and trained to the enjoyment of Hellenic privilege. With Alexander, to conceive an idea and to put it into execution was the same thing. He found the people of several districts living scattered in villages; he drew them together into cities, at the head of which he placed a few of his followers to organize. The result was a complete change in the manners of such people. From scattered and ignorant cultivators they became artisans or merchants, and remained for centuries attached to the Greek rule, which had so enlarged their ideas and improved their position. At the mouth of the Nile, near the shores of the Caspian, along the course of the Oxus, at the foot of the Paropamisus, on the banks of the Indus, wherever the arms of Alexander were victorious and the country seemed fertile, the great conqueror halted his army for a brief period, or detached a body of troops, and in a few weeks the walls of a city were rising to dominate the district. To fill those walls he left a few veterans weary of fighting and marching, and some of the merchants and artisans who followed his march in

crowds, and then summoned the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to complete the number of citizens. The Seleucid and other Greek princes continued the practice. So it was not long before the cities of Alexander and his generals absorbed the trade of Asia, and every one of them was a centre whence the Greek language, Greek ideas, and Greek religion spread over the East. We need only mention among them Alexandria, Antioch, Seleucia, Nicaea, Kandahar, to remind the reader how many of the great cities of the world then came into being.

We may divide these cities into groups, according to their position, and will speak first of the fate of those founded in the far East. In the remote districts to the north of Cabul it must be confessed that the fruits of Alexander's conquests were not lasting. No sooner was the King dead, than the Macedonians settled on the Oxus and Jaxartes, to the number of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, smitten with a sudden despair at the thought of their distance from home, left their cities, and in full battle array took the road for Europe. The generals at Babylon could resist and slaughter them, but could not send them back across the Oxus, and by their desertion the barrier erected to keep out the barbarous nomads of Turkistan was most fatally weakened. A century later one of those great migrations of nations which have so often changed the face of Asia set in. Relieved from the pressure of Persian power on the south, the barbarous nations of Sacae or Scythians on the borders of China began to migrate in masses towards the Oxus and Bactria. They had, no doubt, to make their way by hard fighting; but the flood rolled on slowly and irresistibly, and in considerably less than two centuries after Alexander's death it had submerged the plains of Bactria and Sogdiana; and the semi-Greek

cities to the north of the Paropamisus or Indian Caucasus were either destroyed or left cut off from the world to starve slowly and become barbarous.

The Macedonians and Greeks were driven into the great natural stronghold which fortune and the policy of Alexander had left them in that region. This is the Cabul valley, where for centuries a Hellenistic civilization maintained itself. When the Macedonian army first entered that region and approached the city of Nysa, in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad, they at once found themselves in a country resembling their own. Here grew the ivy and the vine; here the people drank wine freely, and claimed to be descended from the army of Bacchus, the conqueror of India, who on his return had founded their city. Believing, like all his contemporaries, that the Indian expeditions of Bacchus and of Heracles were historical fact, Alexander received the people of Nysa with great favour, and granted them autonomy. It is probable that in this district the common worship of Bacchus brought about a certain fusion between Greek and barbarian, and this as well as the natural strength of the country may have helped the Greeks to make a stand. But after a while even this stronghold was stormed, and the unhappy Greeks were driven first into the Panjab and then crushed between the advancing hordes of Scythia and the Indian kingdom of Magadha; and in the first century of our era Scythian chiefs ruled from Bactria to the mouth of the Indus.

It is sometimes said that the conquests of Alexander had no influence on Indian civilization; but the student of the antiquities of the Panjab knows better. The Scythians and the native dynasties of North India were long enough in contact with the Greeks to learn their language, their religion, and their art. The coins of the Gupta kings of Magadha bear types of Greek origin,

those of the Sah kings of Guzerat bear Greek inscriptions, those of the wealthy Saka kings of Cabul present to us not only Greek legends, but figures of Greek deities, of Artemis, Heracles, and Pallas, and that certainly as late as the second century of our era. Buddhist figures, whether from the topes of Afghanistan, or even from China, show to any one accustomed to Greek art indubitable traces of a close affinity with it. And it is in the last degree improbable that peoples, which borrowed the style of their money and their religious art from the Greeks, should have borrowed nothing else.

The fate of the Hellenistic cities in those more western regions of Asia which fell under the dominion of the Parthians was less harsh. The Parthians, who lived on horseback, and did not willingly venture within the walls of a city, found it wise to tolerate them, and, in return probably for a fixed tribute, allowed them autonomy and protected their trade. The Parthian king even assumed the title Philhellen, Greek was his court language, and he beguiled his leisure by witnessing Greek plays and conversing with Greek travellers. The usual type of the Parthian coins represents a Greek city offering a wreath to the king; their legend is Greek, and they are dated according to the Greek era of Syria. In some cases, when there was war between Parthia and the Seleucid kings of Syria, the Hellenistic cities of Parthia seem to have sided with the latter power, and taken the Syrian troops into friendly winter-quarters. How completely independent of the central power the greater cities were may be judged from the circumstance that in the populous city of Seleucia on the Tigris there were internal civil wars between the Greek, Jewish, and Syrian factions without any interference on the part of the Parthians.

Even the cities of Syria and Asia Minor, although under the rule of kings of Macedonian race, were pro-

bably to a great extent self-governing. They had their senate and popular assembly, their magistrates elected by themselves, their alliances, monetary and commercial, with one another, and their decrees, which in most matters of internal police, religious worship, and commerce, had the force of law. The king exacted a revenue from them, and kept in them a garrison, whose chief must have had criminal jurisdiction, and power of life and death, but it is improbable that he interfered with their internal arrangements, the laws with regard to property, or the market regulations. Freedom from both taxes and garrisons was gradually conferred on most of the great cities of Asia Minor and Syria by one or another of their rulers during the third and second centuries before our era. An extraordinary size and architectural splendour was attained by many of them. In some districts, such as Cyrrhestica in Northern Syria, they were so thickly scattered that the land became thoroughly Hellenized, and barbaric manners and barbaric language died out. Thus over all western Asia, including even countries which like Cappadocia retained their own kings, a mesh of Hellenistic and half-autonomous cities was spread, which with every generation became stronger, binding the land to civilization and law, and bringing in that state of extraordinary wealth and prosperity which we find at the time of the Christian era.

As by hard fighting the Greeks had mastered the treasures of Persia and Babylon, so by commercial enterprise they appropriated the resources of Tyre and Sidon. Those cities indeed survived their capture by Alexander, living on as Hellenistic cities, and even recovered prosperity, but they had lost their high rank for ever. Hitherto they had been the great intermediaries between East and West, and the trade of Egypt, Persia, and India had flowed through their markets. But with

the building of Alexandria near the mouth of the Nile a new era began. Henceforth only part of the trade of India passed by the caravan routes to the coast of Phoenicia. Much of it came direct to the shore of the Red Sea. Harpalus discovered or rediscovered the course of the monsoons, and at the proper seasons Arabian fleets went to and fro between the Malabar coast and the harbours sedulously constructed by the Ptolemies on the Red Sea, whence the wares passed overland to the basin of the Nile. India sent ivory, silk, precious stones, rice, scented woods; and received in return gold and silver as well as the products of Egypt. To our own days gold coins of the early Roman emperors are not unfrequently found in India. The trade which passed up the courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris received a great impetus from the foundation, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, of the immense Greek trading city of Seleucia, and near the Syrian coast of Antioch with its seaport, also called Seleucia. Between the two Seleucias there must have been constant intercourse. Along all the great caravan routes eastward from the Mediterranean arose flourishing Greek cities, a number of which still survive, and would still flourish under a just government. Even the Oxus was in those days a highway of commerce, floating the productions of Bactria into the Caspian Sea. The first Antiochus is said to have projected a canal which should join the Caspian Sea with the Euxine, and thus secure a water-highway from the Mediterranean into Upper Asia. This plan was unfortunately never realized, but the importance of Sinope shows how extensive a trade passed towards the Caspian Sea from the west by land. If the growth of trade be an indication of advancing civilization, then civilization must have advanced very rapidly in the century which followed Alexander's death.

The great intermediary between Europe and Asia was the island of Rhodes. About 408 B.C. the cities of Rhodes combined to build a new capital to their island, which they called Rhodus. Almost immediately the young city started on a splendid commercial career, the period of her rise closely corresponding with that of the downfall of Athens. Her commercial navy was soon known in every port of the Mediterranean, and her ships of war assisted Alexander in the conquest of Tyre. Then came the celebrated siege of the city by Demetrius Poliorcetes, a siege full of spirit and chivalric feelings on both sides. When Demetrius became convinced that he could not take the city, he made a treaty of alliance with the Rhodians, and cemented it by presenting to them the engines of war with which he had been lately battering their walls, to the value of three hundred talents. Truly Rhodes was the spoilt child of the old age of Hellas, for when fifty years later the city was shaken and damaged by an earthquake, the kings of Egypt, Syria, and even Syracuse vied with the free Greek cities of Asia in presenting ships, money, and building materials, and in according to the Rhodian ships immunity from tolls in their ports.

So Rhodes grew great, not through her prosperity alone, but also through her calamities. And it cannot be said that her unparalleled good fortune was wholly unmerited. In spite of their great wealth and overflowing commerce, the people of the island retained something of the old Dorian honesty and simplicity. Their government was a mixture of one of the wisest forms, a commercial aristocracy, and the freest, a democracy; for though all votes had to be passed in popular assembly, yet this assembly could only discuss points brought before it by the senate. Rhodian commercial law was adopted by the Romans on account of its jus-

tice, and remains to this day the foundation of the Law of Nations. Twice did the Rhodians support in arms the freedom of Greek commerce, standing forth as champions on behalf of weaker powers; once when they put down the pirates who had already begun to swarm in the Eastern Mediterranean, and once when they compelled Byzantium to give up the power she had assumed of levying a tax on all the Greek vessels that passed the Golden Horn on their way to and from the Black Sea.

But Rhodes, like the Achaean League and every promising institution of later Greece, was destined to decay under the withering shadow of Roman jealousy. True that the Rhodians were firm allies of Rome, and vigorously hostile to her enemies in Macedon and Asia. Yet the power and wealth of the island remained, and these were in themselves a sufficient cause for the enmity of a state which would not endure the faintest shadow of a rival. The Romans in 167 B.C. conceded the island of Delos to Athens, and made it a free port under their special protection. From that day Rhodes declined, and Delos became the emporium of Greece. One great staple of Delian trade was slaves, of whom we are told that sometimes ten thousand were landed in the morning and sold before evening. The Syrians and other Jews of antiquity flocked to Delos, and Rhodes was deserted. But even then the island remained the home of art and of philosophy. The group of Laocoon exists to our day to testify to the excellence of Rhodian sculpture, and Julius Caesar went to Rhodus to attend the lectures of Molo at the University.

Other cities which grew in commerce and power in the times of the successors of Alexander, besides the new foundations and Rhodus, were some of those on the Black Sea, notably the Pontic Heraclea, Sinope, and Panticapaeum. The trade of the Euxine had been almost

monopolized hitherto, first by Miletus, and, after the fall of Miletus, by Athens. Now it was open to many states. The great wheat-harvests of the Crimea, and the abundant fish of the Borysthenes, with the cattle and hides supplied by the Scythians, and timber from the vast forests of Thrace, made the export trade which flowed through the Bosphorus of great value. We have already mentioned how the people of Byzantium sought to levy a toll on the commerce of the Euxine, and how their attempt was frustrated by the Rhodians. The passage of the Bosphorus remained free, and as a consequence the Greek cities of the Euxine remained flourishing and powerful in the face of surrounding Hellenistic potentates and barbarous tribes of Scythians until the time of Mithridates the Great.

Our limited space now compels us to turn from the external and political aspects of the world of Hellenism to its internal aspects; to the religion and manners of the later Greeks, and to the changes which these underwent in the centuries which followed Alexander's expedition. The religion of the Greeks had never claimed a universal character; nor had they attempted to make proselytes among other nations. As Greeks they worshipped Zeus and Pallas and Apollo, but it seemed to them perfectly natural that other nations should have deities of their own, that the Egyptians should venerate Osiris and the Thracians Bendis. In their ruder days they were ready to slay the worshippers of strange deities, because the very fact of that worship would prove that they were aliens; but they would never have consented to admit strangers to a share in their own sacrifices. The Pantheon of the Greeks was a national institution, and as the Greeks forced their way to a prominent place among the nations, so their deities became more powerful and more widely worshipped. But they would never

deign to receive the sacrifice of a barbarian, or to listen to his prayer. Even the clans and the cities of Greece had all their own guardian deities, who were thoroughly identified with the places they protected, and hostile to all strangers and enemies. Indeed to the common people the true object of their worship was the local or civic deity, as embodied in some well-known statue or picture, and the deities of the Olympic circle were little more than abstractions. The object which the uncultivated people of Phigaleia really venerated was the black Demeter with the horse's head; and the mob of Ephesus implicitly trusted for the defence of their persons and their city to the barbarous many-breasted figure which stood in their great temple. The more cultivated classes of course saw the deity behind the statue, and for them the Pantheon which Homer and Hesiod had formed was a national institution, but even they would not see what barbarians had to do with it.

In the course of the Peloponnesian War Greek religion began to lose its hold on the Greeks. This was partly the work of the sophists and philosophers, who sought more lofty and moral views of Deity than were furnished by the tales of popular mythology. Still more it resulted from growing materialism among the people, who saw more and more of their immediate and physical needs, and less and less of the underlying spiritual elements in life. But though philosophy and materialism had made the religion of Hellas paler and feebler, they had not altered its nature or expanded it. It still remained essentially national, almost tribal. When, therefore, Greeks and Macedonians suddenly found themselves masters of the nations of the East, and in close contact with a hundred forms of religion, an extraordinary and rapid change took place in their religious ideas.

In religion, as in other matters, Egypt set to the world

an example of prompt fusion of the ideas of Greeks and natives. To Ptolemy Soter, when the new city of Alexandria was just rising, there appeared in a vision a divine form, which bade the king fetch the image of his divinity from Pontus. The Egyptian priests could not interpret the dream, but the Eumolpid priest, Timotheus of Eleusis, who was then at Alexandria, after hearing the king's description of his visitant, declared him to be a half-Greek deity worshipped at the city of Sinope under the name of Sarapis. An embassy was despatched to Delphi, and the oracle of Apollo commanded that they should act upon the vision. With great pomp, and of course in the midst of supernatural manifestations, the image of Sarapis was solemnly conducted from Sinope to Alexandria. Who or what Sarapis was originally has been much disputed; all that is certain is that he was in a special sense the deity of the heavens above and of the future life. The Egyptians at once saw in him a form of their national deity Osiris, and, as he had left behind at Sinope the goddess who was there his consort, they associated Isis with his worship. The Greeks identified the new god sometimes with Zeus and sometimes with Hades or Pluto. In the splendid temple which was erected to receive the statue from Sinope, both nationalities could meet in a common worship. It is known that Alexander the Great in his last illness had sent to inquire at the temple of Sarapis as to his chances of recovery, and it may be suspected that the dream of Ptolemy, who was a real statesman, was a politic invention. If so, no imposture was ever more successful. Sarapis perfectly represented the new Egypt, and with his Egyptian consort he received as a marriage-portion all the arcana of the sacred lore. Greek philosophy stepped in to adapt the new religion to the tastes of the educated classes. The cultus of Sarapis

and Isis spread rapidly over Egypt, and thence through Asia Minor and Greece.

In fact that cultus supplied one of the great needs of the Hellenistic world. The decay of civic life and the disruption of family ties threw at this time greater stress on the personal and individual; Greek men for the first time began to feel the need of a personal religion. Hitherto processions and sacrifices had belonged to the community, and had been the expression of its common life; now they were burdened with personal wants and prayers. And the more disorganised the old framework of society became, the more stress did hope and imagination lay upon the future life. But the religion of the Egyptians had always been much occupied with the next world, and in its new form it offered to all who accepted the guardianship and guidance of Sarapis and his consort a safe path amid the perils which attended on death and a happy future in the land of spirits. It also appealed to men and women one by one, drawing its votaries from the midst of cities and of families. No doubt it was mixed with much that was merely ceremonious and much that was superstitious, yet history justifies us in considering it as a forerunner of Christianity, for which it prepared the way, and to which at a later time it became so formidable a rival. The history of art quite confirms this view. The face of the Hellenic Zeus becomes more spiritual, mild, and mysterious in that of Sarapis.

With regard to the religions of other Eastern countries we have less definite information than in the case of Egypt. But it would appear that other ancient systems of belief underwent a change, and appeared in a new form under the influence of Hellenism. The Phrygian races in Asia Minor had long worshipped Cybele, a deity of the moon and of the rude powers of nature.

Her worship had spread among the Greeks, who had identified her with the Rhea of their own mythology. That worship suited the new times. It offered to the vulgar gay shows and imposing ceremonies, to the excitable enthusiastic rites in which religious and sensuous excitement were strangely blended, while the sceptic could imagine that in adoring the mother of the gods he was only worshipping the mysterious powers of Nature. The cult spread rapidly through the Greek world, and during the Hannibalic wars the Romans sent for the statue of Cybele from her temple at Pessinus, in Phrygia, and made her a home in the Eternal City. Of a similar character to the worship of Cybele was that of Mithras, a deity brought into prominence by the contact of the primitive sun-worship of the Persians with Hellenistic influence. In Syria Mithras, and in Asia Minor Cybele, offered a common worship to Greek and barbarian, and largely stimulated the fusion of races.

We have already mentioned that the Greek invaders found in the Cabul valley traditions of heroic conquerors, whom they at once identified with the Bacchus and Heracles of their own mythology. The people of the place at once accepted an identification which placed them, as descended from the followers of Bacchus, on a footing of cousinship with the Greeks. These two heroes, together with Zeus and Pallas, the special guardian deities of Alexander, were singled out for special devotion by the Greeks of the far East, and adopted by the nations round them. Even the Parthians and the barbarous Sacae who destroyed eventually the Greek cities of India incorporated these deities in their very eclectic Pantheons. On gold coins of the Scythic kings of the Panjab we find the names and the figures of Heracles and Sarapis beside those of Varuna and Siva, of Mithras and of Buddha. The worship of

Dionysus in particular, being fitted by its enthusiastic character, and the orgies which adhered to it from its Thracian origin, to rival the religion of Cybele herself, spread rapidly among the native races of Asia, and then returned in altered and Asiatic shape to Greece and the West. The Dionysiac festivals passed into Italy, and appeared to the Romans so fatal to morality and decency that the senate, in 186 B.C., passed a stringent decree forbidding them, and they were put down, not without much bloodshed.

In the cities newly founded by the successors of Alexander these new deities found abundant welcome and crowds of votaries. But not to the exclusion of the older Greek gods. The troops settled in a particular city usually came from the same town or district in Greece or Macedon. They often gave to their new home the name of the old, whence names such as Edessa, Cyrrhus, and Chalcis were not rare in Syria and Asia Minor. And they often transplanted with them the guardian deity of their ancestral city, Zeus or Apollo or Artemis, who became their protector and friend amid their new surroundings. The festal processions and ceremonies migrated with the deity. In particular, we know, from the testimony of coins and inscriptions, that in a large number of the cities of the Hellenistic Asiatics games resembling the Pythia and Nemea of Hellas were held at stated intervals, and occupied a prominent place in the energies of the people. Whether the competitors had to establish some claim to Hellenic parentage we know not, but in any case the crowds of spectators must have been mixed; and before all were held up the ideals of Greek athletic training and physical beauty. To the effeminate Asiatics there must have come on such occasions quite a revelation of manliness and simplicity.

Into Greece proper, in return for her population which flowed out, there flowed in a crowd of foreign deities. Isis was especially welcomed at Athens, where she found many votaries. In every cult the more mysterious elements were made more of, and the brighter and more materialistic side passed by. Old statues which had fallen somewhat into contempt in the days of Pheidias and Praxiteles were restored to their places and received extreme veneration, not as beautiful, but as old and strange. On the coins of the previous period the representations of deities had been always the best that the die-cutter could frame, taking as his models the finest contemporary sculpture; but henceforth we often find on them strange, uncouth figures, remnants of a period of struggling early art, like the Apollo at Amyclae, or the Hera of Samos.

At the same time the recognized civic cults, with their ancient temples, their hereditary orders of priesthood, their orthodox sacrifices and processions, grew more and more distasteful to the many, and the desire for something more exciting spread further and further. There had been, even before the Macedonian age, among the Greeks societies called *erani* or *thiasi*, voluntary associations established by the concert of individuals for the worship of foreign deities. These dissenting sects, if we may so term them, had a fund, supplied by the contributions of the members. They erected their own shrines, and elected their own priests and priestesses. The state looked with dislike and contempt on these societies, and their usual members were slaves and women. Under their auspices Sabazius and Cybele had become already domiciled at Athens. But after the time of Alexander the *erani* came forth from their lurking-places, and were an important element in Greek society. In the open streets might be seen processions in honour of the

deities of Asia and Egypt, Atys and Mithras and Anubis, and the respectable burghers frequently found to their horror that their trusted slaves, nay, their wives and daughters, were constant attendants at the secret rites which characterised the meetings of the *erani*. We are told that those rites were disgraced with debauchery and the vilest excesses; it may probably have been so, but we must remember that similar tales were told of the sacred meetings of the early Christians. Certainly much charlatanry and imposture hid under the mask of the foreign religions. Their priests boldly claimed a knowledge of the future. Under the influence of a frantic religious excitement, into which they worked themselves in the nominal worship of their deity, they uttered broken sentences in reply to the questions of their votaries, sentences which these latter accepted as the oracles of supernatural knowledge. And they professed to cure the diseases of those who applied to them by throwing them into a similar state of frenzy.

Those elements in the recognized Greek religions which lent themselves to such a transformation became more and more transfigured into the likeness of the Asiatic enthusiasms. The mysteries of Eleusis lost their sobriety; mysterious cults like that of Trophonius attracted increasing crowds, and the temples of Asclepius were filled with votaries hoping for the personal appearance and inspiration of the healing deity.

We need say little or nothing of the history of philosophy during the Hellenistic period, because this is a subject which has not been neglected like most of the phases of later Greek life. Mr. Grote remarks that, at the point where he closes his work, philosophy alone of all the productions of Greek activity has life in it and a career before it. All historians of philosophy

spare a few pages to the successors of Plato and Aristotle, though the understanding of them is somewhat marred by the incomplete idea usually possessed of their surroundings. The fact is that the same change came over philosophy at this period as came over religion and morality, a change which may be expressed in its most general form when we say that the individual and moral point of view is substituted for the civic. With Plato and Aristotle a man is first a citizen and then an individual; with their successors he is a human being first, and a citizen only in the second place. His relation to his city is eclipsed by his relations to pleasure, to virtue, and to the order of the universe.

The most complete sceptic of antiquity, Pyrrho, is said to have travelled to India in the train of Alexander, and to have conversed with the Indian Gymnosophists. The story is characteristic. On the impulsive nature of a Greek, the reserve and self-containment of the Brahmin would produce a great effect, and the entire newness of the ideas held by him as to truth and falsehood, and even as to right and wrong, might easily lead an admirer, if not to adopt these ideas, at least to lose all belief in his own. Thousands of Greeks, when they found the best and noblest of the Asiatics differing from their own traditional views of morality, must have hastily leapt to the conclusion that morality is a matter of pure convention; that right and wrong vary in various countries, and exist in the fancies of men rather than in the relations of things. There is but a step from the belief that all religions are true to the belief that all religions are false, and in philosophy as in religion, the experience of mankind may lead either to large-minded toleration or to complete scepticism.

In the intellectual life of Athens there was still left

vitality enough to formulate the two most complete expressions of the ethical ideas of the times, the doctrines of the Stoics and the Epicureans, towards one or the other of which all educated minds from that day to this have been drawn. No doubt our knowledge of these doctrines, being largely drawn from the Latin writers and their Greek contemporaries, is somewhat coloured and unjust. With the Romans a system of philosophy was considered mainly in its bearing upon conduct, whence the ethical elements in Stoicism and Epicureanism have been by their Roman adherents so thrust into the foreground, that we have almost lost sight of the intellectual elements, which can have had little less importance in the eyes of the Greeks. Notwithstanding, the rise of the two philosophies must be held to mark a new era in the history of thought, an era when the importance of conduct was for the first time recognized by the Greeks.

It is often observed that the ancient Greeks were more modern than our own ancestors of the Middle Ages. But it is less generally recognized how far more modern than the Greeks of Pericles were the Greeks of Aratus. In very many respects the age of Hellenism and our own age present remarkable similarity. In both there appears a sudden increase in the power over material nature, arising alike from the greater accessibility of all parts of the world and from the rapid development of the sciences which act upon the physical forces of the world. In both this spread of science and power acts upon religion with a dissolving and, if we may so speak, centrifugal force, driving some men to take refuge in the most conservative forms of faith, some to fly to new creeds and superstitions, some to drift into unmeasured scepticism. In both the facility of moving from place to place, and finding a distant

home, tends to dissolve the closeness of civic and family life, and to make the individual rather than the family or the city the unit of social life. And in the family relations, in the character of individuals, in the state of morality, in the condition of art, we find at both periods similar results from the similar causes we have mentioned.

It is well known how brilliant an assembly of scientific and learned men the first two Ptolemies assembled at Alexandria. At the Museum Euclid was professor of mathematics; Hipparchus and Eratosthenes made wonderful progress in the science of astronomy; Herophilus and Erasistratus taught medicine and anatomy. The king was ready to welcome any traveller who had information to give, and his emissaries penetrated India and Ethiopia in eager search for new facts or commercial openings. Astronomers, geographers, grammarians, historians, flocked to the Egyptian court, and their mutual friction produced in scientific matters a sharp and critical spirit such as science loves. Nor were there lacking engineers eager to turn the amassed knowledge to account. It is true that much of their ingenuity was employed for purposes of scientific destruction, as in the case of the wonderful engines which Demetrius Poliorcetes employed in vain against the Rhodians, and of the enormous war-galleys which the Kings of Egypt constructed. Nevertheless much progress was made in more peaceful arts. Some of the inventions of Archimedes were of a character to make toil easier all over the world. In the construction of cities a vast improvement took place: wide and paved streets, colonnades, parks, convenient agoras, took the place of the fortuitous collections of hovels which had previously been called cities. Great roads, artificial havens, and canals made communication easier between town and town, and agri-

culture received an impulse from the importation of new seeds from the East.

The sudden wealth of the Greeks and the sudden increase in their power over material nature could not but very much increase the ease and luxury of their lives. The grandees began to erect for themselves splendid palaces filled with all the richest produce of East and West, Etruscan bronzes and Attic pottery, Babylonian carpets and Coan curtains. The best artists painted their walls; their courts were adorned with the statues of great sculptors; their gold and silver vessels were masterpieces of toreutic art. Soft couches and clothes of most delicate fabric took the place of the simple coverlets and coarse cloaks of the heroes of Marathon. The new Greeks ever went about smelling of sweet unguents, and the use of paint for the face and false hair was not confined to the female sex. The poorer citizens followed the example of luxury as best they might, the bounds being set by their poverty and not their will. In many parts of Greece comfortable inns arose at intervals on the chief routes for the accommodation of travellers, who were not now contented with a roof and some straw. The soldier, instead of marching barefoot like Socrates and Agesilaus, carried with him a train of camp-followers of both sexes, and submitted to hardship only in the battle-field. Of course this luxury was more marked and notable among the Asiatic Greeks, but it affected the tone of all Hellenes just as surely as American customs spread into our colonies and affect ourselves. And with luxury there went, as always, laxity in morals and a proneness to the more sensual forms of vice. Their greater fineness of organization and better taste kept the Greeks at their worst from ever falling into the bestial sensuality of their Roman imitators; but there can be no doubt that

in the Hellenistic age they carried a good many old Hellenic vices to a far higher pitch of degraded refinement, and adopted other vices from the conquered nations. Murder became extremely common when times were unsettled, and even the violation of temples was no longer rare. These are the blots which are so obvious on the period, and which too often dispose the reader to wish to know no more about it. Yet such a judgment is historically unsound. A time when vice lies everywhere on the surface may be as important to the student of history as a person suffering from a chronic disease may be to the physiologist, and in both cases the defect may be accompanied by overflowing force and vitality in another direction. The reason of the general profligacy, and at the same time that which above all other things makes the Hellenistic Greeks seem modern to us, is the rise and growth among them of sentiment or sentimentality, which is nearly always the result of leisure and of comfortable surroundings. Sentiment may be said to bear the same relation to feeling which imagination bears to fact. When a nation, standing on a high level of civilization, suddenly feels a lightening of the material cares of life, the energy of feelings no longer required in the daily struggle is turned into more fanciful channels, and goes out towards the distant and the imagined. And the introduction of imagination makes good men better and bad men worse, so that the extremes of morality are farther apart than in simpler times. The same age produces Domitian and Trajan, Borgia and Savonarola. Such was the case with the Greeks of the age after Alexander. Cleanthes and other early Stoics advanced above the previous level of morality, and it would be difficult to find a juster ruler than the first Ptolemy, a nobler enthusiast than the martyr Agis, or a grander woman of the political class

than his wife Agiatis. But on the other hand a great number of men and women, including the greater part of those princes and princesses of whom alone history speaks, were cruel and treacherous, dead to natural feeling, and prone to hideous vices. But if the bulk of the people had followed the example of their leaders they could never have prospered as they did. And certainly any who were ambitious to excel in virtue might now find opportunities far greater than before. This general enlargement of the Greek horizon is well exhibited in a passage of Droysen, which we cannot do better than transcribe :—

"In taking a general survey of the time we must not forget amid the gloomy pictures of fratricidal wars, storming of towns, tyrannous violence, and the profligacy of courts, to cast an eye on the brighter side, the splendour of numberless blooming cities, the luxury of the most varied productions of art and manufacture, the thousand new enjoyments with which life is now adorned and enriched, among them those nobler ones ministered by the growing and fertile spread of a literature alike tasteful and many-sided. And this all spreading over the wide regions of Hellenism and binding them together. Think of the crowds of Dionysiac artists and their joyous wandering life, the festivals and games of old and new Greek cities even in the far East, to which are gathered together from afar festive spectators in common worship. As far as the colonies on the Indus and Jaxartes, the Greek has kinsmen and finds countrymen ; the merchant seeks on the Chinese frontier wares for the market of Puteoli and Massilia, and the bold Aetolian seeks his fortune on the Ganges or at Meroë. Scientific men explore the distant, the past, the wonders of nature ; for the first time an educated research lays open the ages gone by, the courses of the stars, the

language and literature of new peoples, whom of old the Greeks in their pride despised as barbarians, looking in stolid ignorance on their ancient monuments. In the fixed lights of the starry heavens, science finds for the first time means for measuring the earth, whose distances are now known, and whose great forms are surveyed and ordered. Science orders into system the marvellous traditions of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Indians, and strives from a comparison of them to gain new results. All these streams of civilization, some subdued, some still raging and unbounded, are now united in the cauldron of Hellenistic culture and science, and preserved to history for all future time."

In days when politics were the primary concern of the Greek citizen, domestic life formed only the background of his existence, and occupied but a moderate part of his attention. But in Hellenistic times domestic life occupies a place by far more prominent, and the consequence is a great change in the family ties. The relation between father and son partakes less of authority and more of friendship. We should scarcely find, before Alexander's time, so charming and cordial relations between father and son as existed between the elder Antigonus and Demetrius, or between the first Seleucus and Antiochus. Both of the young princes we have named shared the thrones of their fathers; Antiochus received at the hand of his father not only a kingdom but even, as a wife, his own young step-mother, of whom he was passionately enamoured. The position of women also changed unmistakably, and on the whole improved. There were in Syria and Egypt princesses, who sometimes became queens, and occupied in the world of Greek society such a position as women had never before held. A number of cities, Laodicea, Berenice,

Apamea, Arsinoë, and the rest, were named after them. The respect which they exacted tended to raise their whole sex. In the laxity of the time a position scarcely inferior to that of queens was occupied by the leading hetaerae, who disposed of cities and made wars by the favour of their admirers. Lamia exacted tribute on her own account from the rich burghers of Athens, Glycera required those who approached her to prostrate themselves in the Oriental fashion, to Pythionice a temple and altar were erected at Athens as to an impersonation of Aphrodite. The splendid success of these female soldiers of fortune caused a host of the most able Greek women, even the daughters of citizens, to follow in their steps.

The best of these hetaerae were, if we may trust Athenaeus, sufficiently disreputable, yet it can hardly be doubted that their influence on the whole raised the position of their sex. Professor Helbig has well pointed out that it is in the Macedonian period of Greek history that we find the beginnings of gallantry between the sexes in the modern sense of the word. Berenice, wife of the first Ptolemy, had a regular following of poets who were ever singing her praises; the hair of her younger namesake was by a conspiracy of astronomers and poets raised to heaven, and gave its name to a constellation. Theocritus sends to the wife of Nicias at Miletus a spindle as a present, accompanied by a set of verses. The rude savage Polyphemus becomes in the Idyl of Theocritus a sentimental lover, who longs to kiss the white hand of his mistress Galateia, and is so far advanced in the lore of courtship, that when the lady makes advances by pelting him with apples he pretends not to see, in order to rouse her love by neglect. It would appear that flattery and attention on the part of men aroused in women all the arts of coquetry. Gallantry

on the one hand and coquetry on the other may not be the highest form of sexual relations, but they indicate an advance from the time when women were either household drudges or slaves kept for the indulgence of appetite. According to Pericles and his contemporaries, all outside the walls of her house should be a closed world to a woman; but we find Phila, wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, undertaking a diplomatic mission on behalf of her husband; and at Alexandria we hear of female poets and painters, and even a woman, Histiaea, who writes a learned topographical commentary on the *Iliad.* How much liberty the wives of the citizens of Alexandria enjoyed appears from the Idyl of Theocritus, which represents Gorgo and Praxinoë as going, attended only by a maid, to the festival of Adonis, exchanging lively banter with the passers-by, and in a crush accepting the protection of a friendly stranger.

It will probably occur to the reader that our remarks as to the altered status of women are not borne out fully by what remains of the new Attic comedy. This is to some extent the case; the change took place earliest in the great cities of Asia and Egypt; perhaps latest of all in Athens, where a vast mass of feeling and tradition had to be encountered. Cultivated men of the world, like Menander and Philemon, did not concern themselves much with new movements in society, unless they offered them a chance for ridicule. But they seem to have violently attacked the growth of Oriental superstitions, and, if we knew more of their works, we might find that some of the shafts of their ridicule were directed against innovating women.

It is well pointed out by Helbig that one circumstance in which we may trace the growing sentiment of the age is the rise of a love of nature of a character new

to the Hellenic mind. As long as the Greeks lived in the full enjoyment of their own beautiful country, their love for the face of nature was a feeling which existed, but of which they were scarcely conscious; but when they were cooped up in great cities in the plains of Asia and Africa, that love became a sentiment and a longing. Their desire for nature, being no longer satisfied with daily enjoyment, led them to resort to the practice of forming artificial parks, in which the scattered beauties of nature were gathered as it were into a nosegay. Such practice was not new in Asia, where the great kings of Babylon and Persia had long ago stilled the same want in the same manner, but it was new to Hellenes. Antioch on the Orontes became celebrated for its splendid park, Alexandria was full of open squares, and the west end of the city of detached houses and pleasant gardens. The same taste may be traced in the contemporary poetry, more especially in that of Theocritus, and even in the painting of contemporary vases, in which landscapes begin to appear, not quite conventionally treated, but showing touches fresh from nature. Kindred to this is the love of hunting, which is far more prominent among the Successors of Alexander than in the previous age.

With the sentiment for nature realism in art goes naturally. In the statues of the school of Lysippus the portrayal of the different parts of the body is complete; there is a careful rendering of muscles, sinews, veins, and fat. Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, was the first to take moulds of the faces which he intended to represent. The portraits of the time before Alexander are treated ideally, and individual traits smoothed down. Even of Alexander himself we possess no representation which is not very highly idealized; but of the Greek princes who succeeded him we possess a gallery of

portraits, in which every individual character is brought into the strongest relief, sometimes, one would think, even exaggerated. Of the pictures of the same period we have descriptions which show that they were extremely realistic. Thus we are told that in the picture of Apelles, which represented Alexander holding a thunderbolt, the hand and the thunderbolt seemed to stand out from the picture. All sorts of new subjects were chosen, such as a Dutch painter might have envied; Methe drinking out of a glass through which her face showed; Aphrodite looking into the shield of Ares and seeing the reflection of her own form. When the Greek artists of the fifth century had to represent Persians or Amazons, they could only indicate their nationality by a modification of dress; the bodily forms remained the same; but when the sculptors of Pergamus were called on to represent their king's victories over the Gauls, they proceeded in a very different manner. Their study of nature and knowledge of anatomy enabled them to see that the frame of the northern barbarians was of ruder and less symmetrical build than that of the Greeks, and led them to supply to art quite a new series of bodily shapes. The same truth to nature is clear in the terra-cottas of the period, of which a large number have reached England from Tanagra in Boeotia.

There are many more phases of Hellenistic life over which we would gladly linger. We have not yet said a word about the relations of the Jews to the successors of Alexander, and the partial subjugation of their spirit by that of the Hellenes. We have not touched on the history of the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, or on the immense influence exercised by Hellenism on Rome. These and many other such matters we must pass by in silence. Perhaps it was rash to attempt to compress into a short paper a statement of the leading charac-

teristics of all the eastern world for a period of two or three centuries. Our only justification is the desire to call more general attention to a period of history, with regard to which the general level of knowledge is very low, and yet which is remarkably full of instruction for modern times.

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